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HENRY VII
TO
ELIZABETH

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HISTORY IN BIOGRAPHY

VOL. III.

HENRY VII. TO ELIZABETH

BY

FRANCES MARY WEST

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF SOMERVILLE COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND STUDENT
OF THE CAMBRIDGE TRAINING COLLEGE

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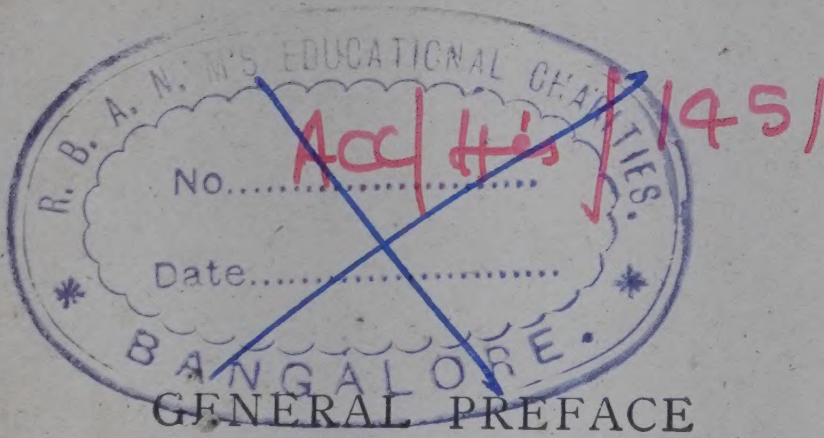
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GENERAL PREFACE

IF this is the age of 'epochs' and 'periods' of history, it is also the age of historical monographs and biographies. The 'Heroes of the Nations' jostle the 'Story of the Nations' in friendly rivalry. The 'great man' theory is combined with the 'great movement' theory of historic development.

The series of which this volume is a part aims at utilizing this tendency for the purpose of school teaching, and at stimulating children to independent reading and thought by presenting the history of England to them in a fresh and attractive form by means of typical lives of famous men and women, drawn in large measure from original sources. Each volume contains a list of authorities and a consecutive summary of the whole period covered by the text, on which class teaching may be based. Illustrative maps, pictures, and genealogical tables are also given, and a full index, which it is hoped may be found useful in training young students to compare and rearrange facts for themselves, and to work out subjects from the incidental references scattered through the different biographies.

B. A. LEES,
Editor of the Series

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE,
OXFORD, 1903.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE Tudor period is so rich in men with diverse claims to greatness that the task of selecting fifteen has not been an easy one. Nor has personal greatness, nor even personal importance, been the only consideration. The lives of some men, worthless and insignificant in themselves, throw light on history which cannot be disregarded. Hence the 'cockatrice' Warbeck has his place side by side with Cardinal Wolsey, and the trifling Leicester stands abreast with Bacon and Shakespeare. The pretender, the divine, the courtier, the statesman, the adventurer, and the poet, all have something to contribute to the pages of history. England was never more full of life and thought and that restless activity which springs from a strange combination of high ideals and sordid ambition. It was an age of great changes. Strong government took the place of disorder at home; skilful diplomacy of wars abroad; and knowledge and reason began their long struggle with bigotry and corruption. The seeds of the great Civil War of the seventeenth century were sown in the sixteenth century—in the despotism of the Tudors, in the character of the Renaissance, and the Reformation of the English Church. But it is impossible in a few pages to give a satisfactory sketch of any one of these great movements, full, as they are, of points of bitter

controversy, and leading to consequences which have left a deep impression on our national life.

There is a wealth of material both modern and contemporary which makes it impossible to draw up a complete list of authorities to supplement such brief sketches as these. There is much original matter published in a form which makes it accessible to the general reader. To the publications of the Early English Text Society, the Camden Society, the Parker Society, the Roxburgh Club, and the Bannatyne Club, we are largely indebted for this, while Arber's English Garner, English Reprints, and English Scholar's Library contribute many valuable reproductions. The Elizabethan age was, moreover, rich in literature, and it is by studying poem and drama side by side with letters, biographies, and chronicles that we can gain most insight into the spirit of an age which in many ways was wonderfully like our own. Needless to say, in this Shakespeare must always remain our greatest teacher.

The ballads in this volume have been taken from the Percy Reliques, the Roxburgh Ballads, the Ballads from Manuscripts, and the English and Scotch Historical Ballads. Though some of them are worthless from a literary point of view, they are interesting to the student of history, for they show the light in which events appeared to the people themselves.

F. M. W.

WORTHING,
May, 1903.

CHIEF AUTHORITIES

Original Authorities.

Cavendish, Life of Wolsey.

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Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VIII.
(Brewer and Gairdner).

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Leicester Correspondence (Camden Society).

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Knox, History of Reformation in Scotland.

Hakluyt, Voyages, Navigations, etc.

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Letters of Bacon.
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 No. 13. Latimer, Seven Sermons before Ed-
 ward VI.
 No. 14. Sir Thomas More, Utopia.
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 No. 28. William Roy, Read me, and be not
 wroth (Satire on Wolsey).
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 Revenge.
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 No. 16. Martin Mar-prelate, The Epistle.
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Hayward, Life and Reign of Edward VI.

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Strype, Annals of Reformation.

„ Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer.

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Beesly, Elizabeth (Great Statesmen).

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Child, Church and State under the Tudors.

Church, Life of Bacon (Men of Letters).

„ Life of Spenser (Men of Letters).

Corbett, Life of Drake (Men of Action).

Creighton, Elizabeth.

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„ English Seamen of Sixteenth Century.

„ Life and Letters of Erasmus.

Gasquet, Dissolution of the Monasteries.

Gairdner, Life of Warbeck (bound with Richard III).

„ Henry VII. (Great Statesmen).

Gardiner, S. R., Students' History of England.

Green, J. R., History of English People.

Hallam, Constitutional History of England.

Lee, Sidney, Life of Shakespeare.

Motley, Rise of Dutch Republic.

Pollard, England under Protector Somerset.

„ Henry VIII.

Rait, Mary Queen of Scots (Scottish History from Contemporary Writers).

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HISTORY IN BIOGRAPHY

PERKIN WARBECK.

(1474—1499.)

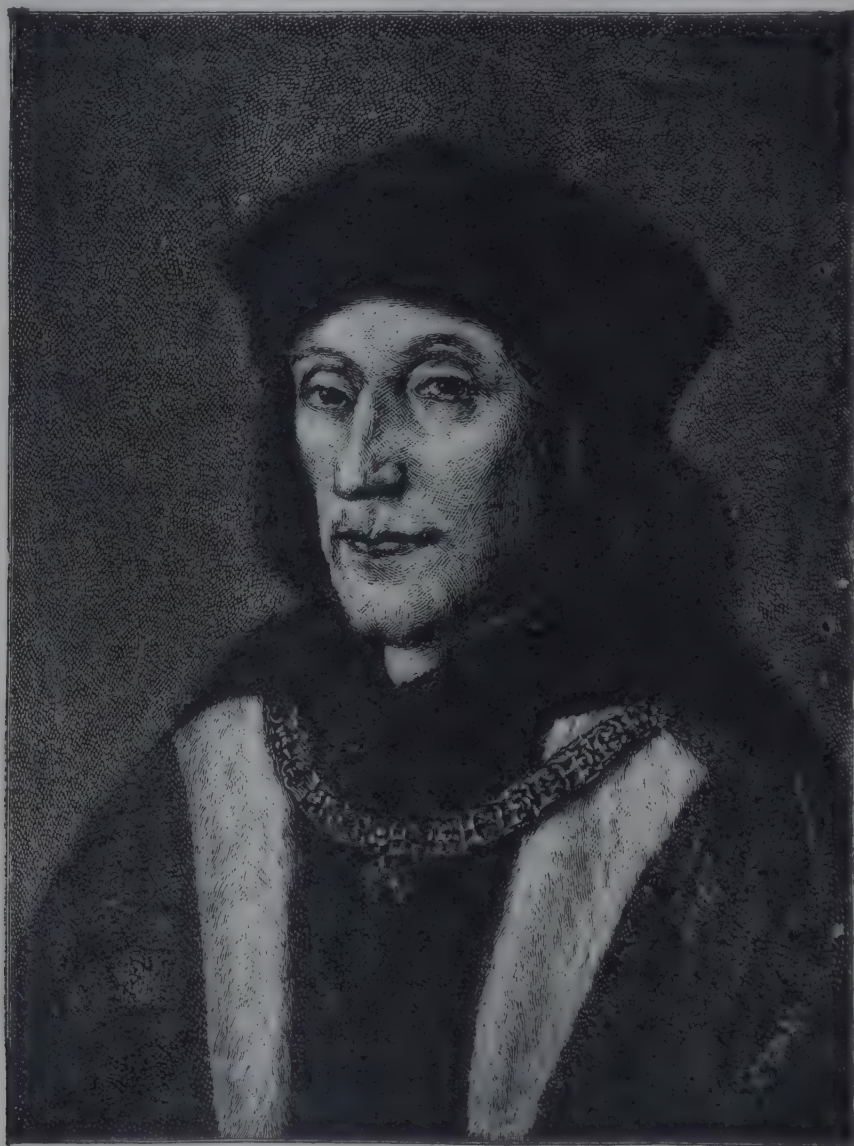
THE Battle of Bosworth and Henry Tudor's victory bade fair to give England the peace which the struggles of the rival Houses of Lancaster and York had long denied her. • But the new King had no easy task before him. He represented the Lancastrian line,* his mother, the Lady Margaret, having been a descendant of John of Gaunt; but his father had belonged to a family of simple Welsh knights, who were held of little account by the English nobles. Henry VII. himself had been at one time a needy exile, fatherless from his birth, and with little prospect of ever reigning over England. He had won the throne by the aid of France, but in the fifteenth century kings were made and unmade with amazing rapidity. In England itself there was still a Yorkist party who, in spite of Henry's marriage with Elizabeth, Edward IV.'s daughter, regarded him simply as a king by conquest. The



TUDOR ROSE.

* See Table I., p. 211.

fate of the little princes, Edward's sons, was shrouded in mystery, and Clarence's son, Edward of Warwick, was living, though a prisoner in the Tower.



HENRY VII.

(From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.)

There were difficulties further afield. James IV. of Scotland at first held aloof. Ireland had long been closely associated with the House of York. The

Duchess of Burgundy was Edward IV.'s sister. There were old jealousies between France and England which made a desirable peace doubtful. Spain and the Empire were continually wavering in their policy. Hence Henry had not only his own position to make in England, but the position of England on the Continent to make as well.

Under these circumstances the first Tudor reign promised to be a golden age for the adventurer. In 1486 Sir Humphrey Stafford of the House of Wydeville was executed for his share in an unsuccessful plot against the King. In 1487 Lambert Simnel was doomed to his ignominious fate in the royal kitchen for calling himself the Earl of Warwick, and his supporters were scattered or slain. But neither of these conspiracies was as boldly planned or widely supported as the strange plot in which Perkin Warbeck was the central figure. His story is interesting, not because he himself was an attractive character, but because of the very boldness of his claims and the extraordinary success that at first attended him. There can have been little real worth in a man who repeatedly deserted his followers and shirked a battle on his own behalf. Probably none of the monarchs of Europe genuinely believed in him, but it suited them to pretend to do so. Hence Warbeck was received at the leading Courts of Europe, issued proclamations like a crowned king, and in Scotland married a lady of the highest rank. In the words of Bacon, 'he was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnel, better done, and worn upon greater hands.' France, Burgundy, and the Empire all lent him aid.

Warbeck's real history can never be absolutely proved, but before his death he made a confession which was

probably the truth. According to this, he was the son of a boatman of Tournay, and in his early life had travelled, visiting Flanders and Portugal, possibly England itself. While in the service of a Breton merchant Warbeck chanced to visit Ireland. Henry had just summoned the Earl of Kildare, the Lord-Lieutenant of that country, to England to answer for his conduct. There was a strong Yorkist feeling in Ireland, and evidently some plot was brewing. The citizens of Cork seized upon the merchant's clerk tricked out in 'his white silk attire'—probably the advertisement of his master's wares. They insisted on identifying him first with Edward, Earl of Warwick, then with an illegitimate son of King Richard, finally with the Duke of York, the younger of the two murdered sons of Edward IV. Warbeck denied all these titles, but the people bade him have no fear, for the Earls of Desmond and Kildare would support him, and they themselves were no friends of the English King. Thus encouraged, Perkin assumed the part forced upon him, and was educated by the Irish to play the game. Bacon describes him as 'a youth of fine favour and shape, with a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and induce belief,' and adds that his name Perkin was a corruption of Peterkin, the nickname given him by his boy companions, owing to his delicate and languid manners. The Irish evidently thought that these were in keeping with high birth.

If Warbeck had remained an Irish protégé only, he would probably have met with the fate of Lambert Simnel. In 1492, however, war broke out between England and France on the subject of Brittany. Charles VIII. had just married Anne of Brittany. This brought the whole of the south coast of France

under the direct control of the French King. The English regarded this as dangerous to their chief source of wealth, their trade in wool with Flanders, and war became inevitable. It was to the interest of the French King to encourage Warbeck. He was summoned to France, and entertained as a Prince; a guard of honour waited upon him, and his claims to the English throne were put forward as an additional reason for war against Henry. No wonder that the merchant's clerk, with his natural vanity and arrogance, was overwhelmed by the honours thrust upon him. He was still further encouraged by a growing band of disloyal English who gathered round him. But the events of the war were in Henry's favour. He crossed over to France in person. First Sluys was captured, then Boulogne was besieged, and Charles hastened to make peace, and dismissed the pretender from his Court.

Warbeck took refuge with Margaret of Burgundy, whose power was uppermost in the Netherlands, for her grandson Philip was still a boy, and his father Maximilian, who later became Emperor, was very poor. Margaret received him warmly. She had lost wide lands in England when Henry VII. became King, and saw in Warbeck a chance of reviving the Yorkist cause. He lived royally at her Court, and learned much from her of the history of the Yorkists. Henry VII. revenged himself by stopping all trade between England and Flanders, but though the Flemish suffered heavily, the English were equally punished; nearly half the population was thrown out of work.

Margaret encouraged Warbeck to feel his way at other Courts. He sent a letter to Spain, but Ferdinand and Isabella were engrossed in their great work—the expulsion of the Moors from Granada—and could not

afford to offend the English King. However, in 1493 the Emperor of Germany died. His son Maximilian,



PERKIN WARBECK.

(From a drawing in the Library, Arras.)

who succeeded him, was Margaret's son-in-law, and a firm supporter of Warbeck. The young adventurer

had a place of great honour given him at the late Emperor's funeral at Vienna. In the Netherlands he was openly proclaimed King of England; he went about accompanied by a bodyguard of gentlemen; his archers wore the white-rose badge; he himself bore the high-sounding title, 'By the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland.' He must have almost persuaded himself that he was indeed a prince, and when the new Emperor Maximilian busied himself with preparations for an invasion of England, perhaps Warbeck thought that he had only to sail across the sea to be greeted and crowned king by a people longing to receive him.

In England, however, a different tone prevailed. By means of spies Henry was well kept aware of Warbeck's doings, and was prepared to resist him. In 1493 several notable Yorkist gentlemen were arrested and condemned for high treason, and one of the most important of Warbeck's seeming supporters, Sir Robert Clifford, was detached by a promise of pardon. Clifford's information led to the arrest and death of Sir William Stanley, the very Stanley who had crowned Henry on Bosworth Field. In 1494, moreover, Charles VIII. invaded Italy and seized the kingdom of Naples, and the fear arose that the greater part of Italy might fall into French hands. Spain was anxious to form a great league to check the French power; an English alliance would be important for either side, and Henry began to have less fear of Warbeck's influence abroad. It was therefore without much concern that he heard in 1495 that Warbeck's great expedition against England had started. The enemy appeared off Kent, the historic landing-place of the invader. Before starting the aspiring youth had signed a formal document bequeath-

ing to Maximilian and his son after him his own rights over the lands he had yet to win. He was evidently anxious not to expose himself rashly. He let his followers go ashore to test the natives while he remained on board. The King had prepared a force, but he had no need to use it, for the militia of Kent turned out to a man, and Warbeck's wretched followers were soon surrounded or cut to pieces. They were only a body of adventurers, described by a contemporary chronicler as 'some bankrupts, some false sanctuary men, some thieves, robbers, and vagabonds.' They themselves had no heart in their cause, and their leader put out no hand to save them. The few survivors were marched off, 'railed in ropes, like horses drawing in a cart, to London.' It was the first time that Warbeck had entrusted his cause to the fortunes of war, and it was a miserable failure.

Perkin escaped to Ireland, but affairs had changed there since his first landing. Kildare was a prisoner attainted of treason, and Sir Edward Poynings was reducing the country to order. In 1494 the famous law was passed by which all Acts of the Irish Parliament had to receive the sanction of the English Council. Warbeck laid siege to Waterford, but the attempt failed, and he was forced to seek a new hunting-ground. An opening offered itself in Scotland. James IV. was bound to England by a seven years' truce, but the old racial jealousy proved too strong for his good faith. He received Perkin, and entertained him nobly, as Margaret had done. His guest lived at Court, and married Katharine Gordon, a relation of the Scotch King, while the Scots were roused to prepare for war on Warbeck's behalf. The would-be king began to regain some of the self-respect which his two recent

failures must have shaken. He made some substantial promises to James in the event of his success, among them the restoration of the Border fortress of Berwick. He issued a mighty proclamation graciously offering pardon to those of his subjects who had adhered 'to the enemy Henry Tudor.' He promised 'to confirm the cities in their charters and liberties, and to respect the freedom of Holy Church.' A price of £1,000 was set upon Henry's head. The English were not tempted. It all ended in an insignificant Scotch raid upon the North. Indirectly, however, the raid brought trouble. Henry regarded it as a violation of the truce, and prepared for further war by heavily taxing his subjects. His taxes were already beginning to cause discontent, and it was this that paved the way for Warbeck's last attempt to win a footing in England.

Meanwhile, on the Continent, Warbeck's supporters were falling off. In 1496 a commercial treaty, 'the Great Intercourse,' was made between Henry and Philip of Burgundy, who was growing to manhood. Trade was renewed, and Margaret was forced to abandon Warbeck's cause. Ferdinand and Isabella were doing all in their power to suppress the adventurer, and thus end the breach between Henry and Maximilian. Their ambassadors were in Scotland. They even suggested a Spanish princess as a wife for James IV. Perhaps this accounted for the fact that in 1497 Warbeck sailed away from Scotland without much substantial help, and accompanied only by two famous sea-pirates, Andrew and Robert Barton—fitting comrades for such an adventurer. He again touched at Ireland, where he found Kildare reinstated; but Henry had found means of attaching the great Irishman to himself, and Warbeck probably found him-

self a fugitive, hiding in the very district where the people had, for their own reasons, thrust his honours on him. News of a rebellion in Cornwall, following on the heavy taxation, encouraged him to try his fortunes in England for the second time.. The main body of Cornish rebels had marched to London, but Warbeck was joined in the west by a goodly number of malcontents. They attacked Exeter, but the citizens repelled them. They marched on Taunton, only to be greeted by the news that royal troops were on their way westwards. Before the hostile forces met, Perkin's courage, as usual, failed him, and in the night, accompanied by a few followers on horseback, he fled to the shelter of the New Forest, and took sanctuary. Bacon wrote ironically 'that he used his wonted compassion not to be by when his subjects' blood should be spilt.' In the end he was forced to surrender, and was imprisoned. Possibly Henry wished to show his contempt for the whole affair by sparing Warbeck's life. He was merciful by nature, and afterwards acted kindly to the captive's wife. But the rebels who had joined him were sternly put down, and when, after a few months, Warbeck himself tried to escape, in company, so it was pleaded, with the Earl of Warwick, the attempt was made an excuse for executing them both. After-generations have judged Warbeck harshly, but it is only fair to remember that he was urged by others to play his dangerous game, and he found that their support was a fickle thing. His conceit was fed by the flattery of Kings who wished to weaken Henry, and if the story of his pretensions affords amusement, it has also its pathetic side. It is interesting, chiefly, because it gives us a glimpse into the affairs of Europe,

and shows the conflicting interests of the various Courts. It shows, too, how firm a hold the first Tudor King was able to gain over his subjects, for it was this really which caused Warbeck to be no more than 'a little cockatrice of a king, that was only able to destroy those that did not espy him first.'

VERSES OF WELCOME TO HENRY TUDOR.

(From the Song of Bosworth Field.)*

God, that shope† both sea and land,
And for all creatures died on tree,
Save and keep the realm of England
To live in peace and tranquillity!

St. George, to us a shield thou be!
For we have cause to pray, both young and old,
With a steadfast heart full devoutly,
And say, 'Welcome, Henry, rightwise‡ King!

Welcome, rightwise King and joy royal,
He that is grounded with grace!
Welcome the fortune that hath befall,
Which hath been seen in many a place.

Who wend§ that England as it was
So suddenly changed should have been?
Therefore let us thank God of His grace,
And say, 'Welcome, Henry, rightwise King!'

* This version actually written in James I.'s reign; original composition older.

† Shope=shaped.

§ Wend=thought.

‡ Rightwise=righteous.

How had we need to remember and to our minds
recall

How England is transported miraculously,
To see the great mischief that hath befall
Since the martyrdom of the holy King Henry !*

How many lords have been deemed to die,
Young innocents that never did sin !
Therefore let us thank God heartily,
And say, ' Welcome, Henry, rightwise King !'

* Henry VI., murdered 1471.

THOMAS WOLSEY.

(1475 (?)—1530.)

‘CARDINAL WOLSEY, sometime Archbishop of York, was the son of an honest poor man, born at Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk.’ This is all that Cavendish, Wolsey’s faithful secretary and biographer, can tell us about the birth and parentage of one of the greatest statesmen England has ever known. According to contemporary popular writings, Wolsey was the son of a butcher—‘of greasy genealogy,’ as one of his enemies maliciously wrote, ‘of the sang royal that was cast out of a butcher’s stall.’ More probably his father was a grazier and wool-merchant, and from his will he seems to have been well-to-do. He sent his son to Oxford at an early age, and there Wolsey’s extraordinary genius first came to light. He became Bachelor of Arts at the age of fifteen, ‘which was a rare thing, and seldom seen.’

Few men have risen in fortune more easily and naturally than Wolsey. He was made a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Master of Magdalen Grammar School. In this position he attracted the notice of the Marquis of Dorset, whose sons he taught, and by whom he was given the living of Lymington, in Dorset, in the year 1500. In the following year he became chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on his



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

(From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery.)

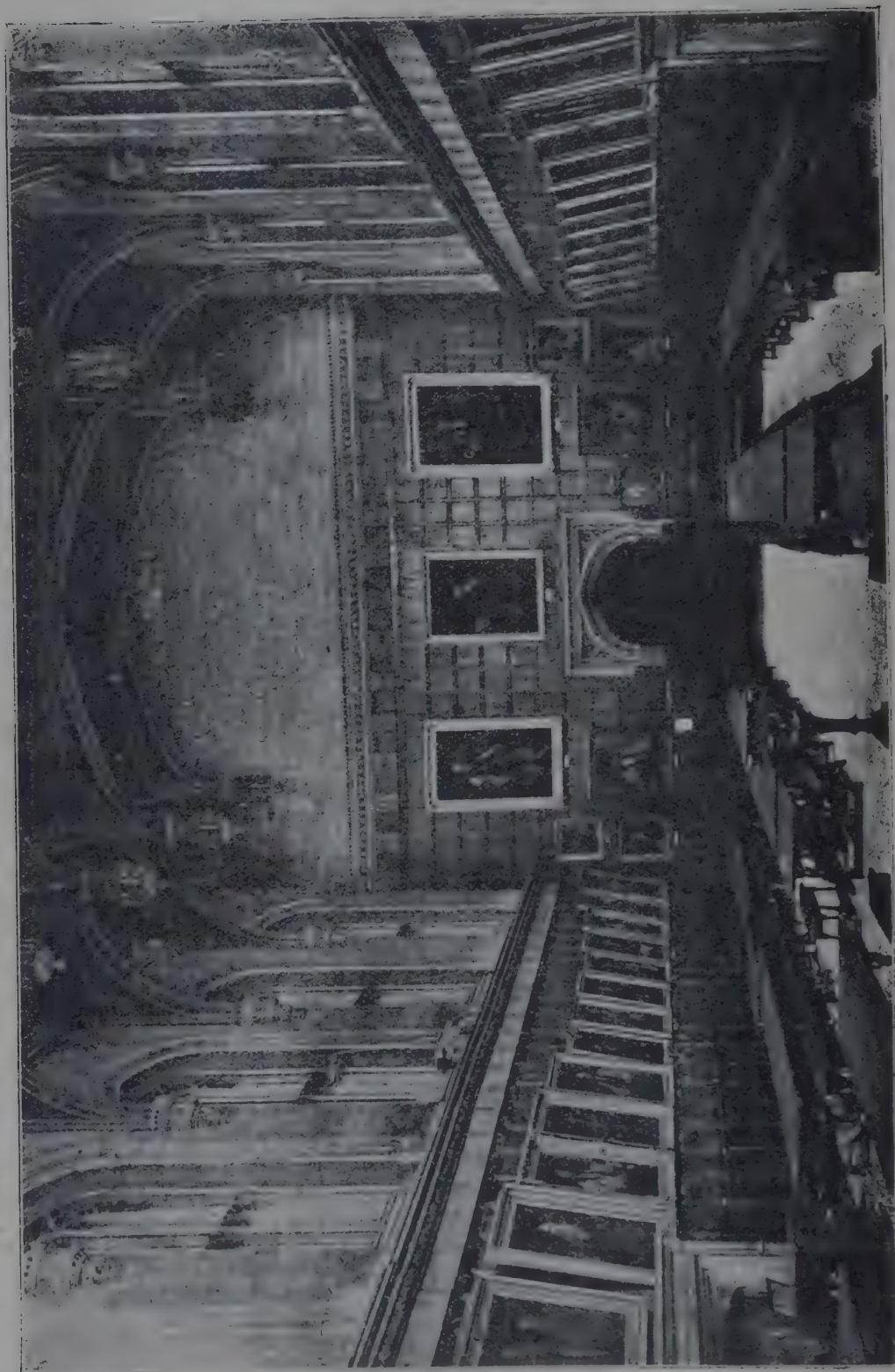
master's death he was, for a time, assistant to the Deputy-Lieutenant of Calais. In 1506 he entered the royal service. It was, therefore, in the early years of the sixteenth century, and under the guidance of the Ministers of Henry VII., that Wolsey became versed in European politics, and learned his first practical lessons in diplomacy.

Europe was going through a stage of rapid transition. The two greatest powers in Europe in the Middle Ages had been the Emperors and the Popes. But the Emperors no longer held the foremost place among the princes of the West. The idea of Europe divided among independent and equally important nations had taken the place of the old idea, and though a very great Emperor was about to arise, he was powerful because of the wide lands he held rather than on account of the Imperial title. The Popes, partly through their long subjection to the French Kings, partly through the Great Schism, when rival Popes divided the allegiance of Christendom between them, but chiefly through the utter corruption of the Roman Court, did not exercise the influence they had once held. They were regarded rather as princes whose position was particularly weak, because it was threatened on the east by the Turks and on the north by the Kings of France, who claimed Milan and Naples in Italy and threatened the Papal States. Even the spiritual power of the Popes was soon to be questioned, and under the guidance of Luther, Germany was about to lead the way in the establishment of a national Church independent of the Roman See. The French Kings had reached the highest point of their feudal power; Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella, had just become a compact nation, and had been strong enough to

expel the Moors from the South ; England, under the despotic but popular rule of the Tudors, was rapidly rising in importance. All the leading countries of Europe were seeking a new balance of power, some means of preventing the great nations from growing too strong, the weak from being altogether overpowered. They thought they could solve the problem by a succession of treaties, alliances, and marriage-settlements, but the balance was hard to find. A constant redistribution of forces was necessary, hence all through the sixteenth century Europe presented something the appearance of a kaleidoscope, in which the pieces were swiftly and quietly shifting. Henry VII. saw that England might be made to play an important part in foreign affairs. It was for this reason that in 1496 he had joined the League of Venice, the avowed object of which was to check the designs of France in Italy. When in 1508 Venice threatened to grow too strong, the League of Cambray was formed between the French King, Louis XII., the Emperor Maximilian, and the Pope, its aim being to divide the possessions of Venice. Again, in 1511, when France had won much of the Venetian territory, Spain, Venice, and England united with the Pope in the Holy League to defend the Papal lands against the arms of France.

It was this tangle of rival claims and interests that Wolsey boldly set to work to unravel. He followed Henry VII.'s policy, but he saw far more plainly than that King had done what an important make-weight England might become. His genius was soon recognised at Court, and he was employed in various diplomatic missions, being rewarded for his services by the rich deanery of Lincoln and the post of King's

Almoner. When in 1509 the ambitious young Henry VIII. became King, he realized that the one man who could advance the interests of England abroad was Wolsey. He made Wolsey one of his councillors, and showered gifts upon him, so that 'he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasy or enrich his coffers.' In those days livings, and even bishoprics, were often regarded only as roads to promotion and wealth. Prebends and deaneries fell to Wolsey. In the years 1513 and 1514 he was appointed to three bishoprics in succession, those of Tournay, Lincoln, and York, and, in addition to his archbishopric, he held from time to time the proceeds of many other livings and sees. In 1515 he was made a Cardinal, in 1517 Lord Chancellor, and the next year Papal Legate in England. Wolsey cannot have conscientiously performed all the duties attaching to these offices, but in accepting them he was only acting in accordance with the spirit of the times. Moreover, he put his duties as a statesman first, those as a Bishop only second; hence he accepted gladly whatever made his influence greater at foreign Courts. He did not overlook the welfare of the people. He believed firmly in education, and one of his most cherished schemes was the foundation of schools and colleges which could be centres of the New Learning. In spite of the good which the monasteries were doing, they were behind the times as far as teaching was concerned, and it was through Wolsey's influence that a few of the lesser and more corrupt ones were abolished. Wolsey took the keenest interest in his two great foundations—a college at Ipswich, and Cardinal (now Christ Church) College at Oxford; but he was never fully in sympathy with the people, whom he regarded as pawns, to be moved in accordance with



CHRIST CHURCH HALL, OXFORD.

[Valentine and Son, Ltd.]

the King's will. He always looked at England from the outside first. His greatest aim was to increase the power of his country on the Continent. He believed that the King could only play an important part abroad if he was absolute master of his subjects at home. He therefore strove to force the King's will upon the nation in all things, even if it cost the people much immediate misery. He believed also in a great display of pomp and magnificence in public to impress the people. Cavendish draws a vivid picture of Wolsey performing his duties as Lord Chancellor. He came on a mule trapped in crimson velvet and gilt stirrups, preceded by attendants mounted and on foot. Men bore great silver crosses before him as he passed up Westminster Hall, while his ushers cried, 'Make way for my Lord's Grace!' He was apparelled all in red, in the habit of a Cardinal, with a round pillion upon his head and a tippet of fine sables about his neck. York House, the Cardinal's residence, was the wonder of the countryside. The chapel was rich in ornaments and jewels; the house was magnificently furnished; there were countless servants. The master cook is described as going daily in damask satin and velvet. A crowd of doctors, chaplains, clerks, and ushers were daily attendant upon their master's 'down-lying and up-rising.'

The common people were at first fascinated by such splendour. They thought they saw in the magnificence of King Henry himself and his Lord Chancellor the embodiment of the greatness of England. But there was also an undercurrent of scepticism and opposition which grew together with Wolsey's growing demands on the resources of the people's pockets. For nearly twenty years Wolsey practically dictated Henry's

relations with foreign Kings, but he found he had to buy the friendship of princes with a heavy price. Moreover, in an age when every country was endeavouring to make itself powerful, allies often proved mere greedy self-seekers, who, like the Emperor Maximilian, only sought 'to pluck money from the King craftily.'

When Wolsey first came into power Henry was at war with France in pursuance of the Holy League. An English campaign in France in 1513 proved successful, and resulted in the defeat of the French at the Battle of the Spurs and the capture of Terouenne and Tournay. An invasion of England by the Scots, always the staunch friends of France, was checked in the terrible Battle of Flodden, where James IV. was killed. But the English allies, the Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain, failed to help, and in 1515 Wolsey, in disgust, arranged a peace with France, to be cemented by the marriage of Mary, Henry's sister, to the French King, Louis XII. This peace, in its turn, was broken by the death of Louis and the accession of the ambitious King, Francis I., who again led a French army into Italy against Milan, and won the Battle of Marignano. All Europe trembled at his power. If France mastered Italy, the balance of power which Wolsey was pursuing so eagerly would be hopelessly upset. The Cardinal made cautious overtures to the Empire and Spain again. In 1516 the old King Ferdinand of Spain died, and was succeeded by Charles V.,* whose history affords the most striking instance of the overwhelming importance of marriage treaties in the sixteenth century. He was the grandson of Ferdinand, through his mother, Joanna of Castile, and also the grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, through his father, Philip

* See Table II., p. 211.

of Burgundy. He united under his rule Spain, the Netherlands, and Burgundy, together with the little kingdom of Naples and the Spanish possessions in the



[Holbein

HENRY VIII.

(From the painting in Windsor Castle.)

New World. He had every prospect of being elected to the Empire on the death of Maximilian. The balance of power was again seriously threatened, and a treaty

between France and Spain, secretly joined by the Emperor, urged Wolsey at all costs to break up so dangerous a combination. He devoted his whole energy to the task, and in 1518 succeeded.

The Powers of Europe rearranged themselves again at the touch of Wolsey's golden wand. This time France and England formed an alliance. The very next year, however, Europe was thrown into further confusion by the death of Maximilian. The Empire was elective. Francis I., Charles V., and Henry of England all came forward as competitors. Wolsey had at first promised to support Charles. He was probably urged by his great dream of becoming the second English Pope, and swaying not only the temporal but the spiritual affairs of Europe. What the history of the sixteenth century might have been had Wolsey succeeded must remain one of those fascinating but fruitless questions without an answer. He was obliged to support Henry's claim, and Henry failed. Charles V. was elected Emperor. Then the great game of intrigues and treaties and embassies began all over again, for Charles was not so strong as to do without allies. His subjects in the Netherlands showed their independence, Spain was only just united, in the Empire Luther and his followers were already causing trouble, and Francis I. was a dangerous foe in Italy.

In 1520 Wolsey planned the magnificent interview between Henry and Francis near Calais, known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, a splendid pageant, in which he himself stood out as the great arbitrator of Europe. But at the same time a quieter meeting between Henry and Charles at Gravelines was destined to bear more fruit than the glittering show among the wooded meadows of Calais. An alliance between



THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

(From an engraving by the Society of Antiquaries.)

England and the Empire was finally brought about. Perhaps Wolsey's policy at this point was still dictated by his great wish to fill the Papal seat; but he was destined, both now and two years later, to disappointment. Moreover, from this time we can trace faintly the beginning of Wolsey's decline. His masterfulness offended foreign kings; his heavy demands for money were beginning to cause discontent at home. As a rule, Wolsey preferred to manage affairs himself, but in 1523 the King was forced to call a Parliament for the sake of taxation, and the refusal of the Commons at once to comply with his demands widened the breach between the Cardinal and the people. When in the following year Wolsey resorted to a method of taxation very like the old hated benevolences, riots broke out in Norfolk, his name became intensely unpopular, and the state of the people was significantly expressed in the rebels' answer to the Duke of Norfolk when he demanded the name of their captain. They said it was Poverty.

In 1525 riots nearer London infuriated even Henry against his Minister. Wolsey's needs were bringing the Government into disrepute, and, in spite of his love of despotism, Henry VIII. always courted popularity. Wolsey, to appease the King, offered him his palace at Hampton Court, and for the time his unpopularity was tided over. Meanwhile, on the Continent the English-Imperial alliance was shortlived, for Charles' power was threatening Europe. Open war broke out between Spain and France in North Italy. In 1525 Francis I. was taken prisoner at the Battle of Pavia, and the French were driven out. Though, after much negotiation, Francis was released, Charles remained master. Two years later his army sacked

Rome, and held Pope Clement VII. a prisoner in his Papal castle of St. Angelo.

In 1527 Wolsey appeared for the last time in all his pomp as the representative of England on the Continent. He was sent to Amiens to form a close alliance with France against the too-powerful Emperor. On this occasion he exceeded all his previous magnificence, but his power was soon to fall. Already that strange affair, mentioned vaguely in despatches as 'the King's matter,' was pending. Henry had determined to divorce Katharine of Aragon, in order to marry Anne Boleyn. It was a bold step even for the sixteenth century, when marriages were made and unmade for the convenience of kings. His plea was that Katharine had been the wife of his brother Arthur, he himself had been a minor at the time of the marriage, and had been made by his father to enter a formal protest against it in case of future difficulty; but during all the years the King and Queen had lived together, the legality of their union had never been questioned. In reality Henry was weary of his wife; he had no male heir to succeed him; and since the breach with the Empire all Henry's interests were opposed to those of Katharine, who was Charles' aunt. Wolsey implored his master to change his mind; but Henry was firm, and insisted that Wolsey himself should undertake the negotiations with the Pope in order to obtain a dispensation for the divorce. This was no easy task, for the Pope, Clement VII., lay in Charles V.'s power, and dared not offend him. He prolonged the negotiations as far as possible. In England Henry was impatient. Wolsey meanwhile was losing favour every month. At last, in 1529, Cardinal Campeggio was sent to England to try the case with Wolsey. Katharine, after her first appear-



KATHARINE OF ARAGON.

(From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.)

ance and passionate protest, refused to plead. Even after many months the case was not concluded, but only called to Rome. The King's patience was ex-

hausted; his wrath vented itself on his Minister. The great Cardinal had made many enemies in the Council; foremost among them were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who were only too ready to assist in his overthrow. In October he was forced to resign the Great Seal into their hands; he was stripped of all his offices, except the Archbishopric of York, and was ordered into retirement at Esher. In the Parliament which met in November a Bill of Attainder was brought in against him. It never passed, but he was accused of introducing Papal Bulls into England contrary to the law of Edward III. His goods were declared forfeited, his property was seized, even his school at Ipswich was not spared. Wolsey in his disgrace was a broken man. He lacked even the ordinary necessities of life, 'beds, sheets, table-cloths, cups and dishes.' He could not even journey to his See of York without first asking the Privy Council for money. One ray of happiness brightened his last days. The people of York received him with much sympathy, and arrangements were set on foot for the formal ceremony of installation, which he had omitted in his prouder, busier days.

But Wolsey was not allowed to remain in the north unmolested. One day while he was staying at Cawood Castle the Earl of Northumberland arrived from the King. He was greeted with affection by the Cardinal, but his errand was not one of mercy. When Wolsey had escorted him to his bedchamber, the Earl, 'trembling, said with a very faint and soft voice, "My lord, I arrest you of high treason."' Wolsey at first declined to believe, but he was soon convinced. The rest of his story, as Cavendish tells it, is well known. The secretary describes the long, tedious journey southwards, his master's illness, the many halts, and the arrival at the

Abbey of Leicester, where Wolsey's prophecy at the gates—'Master Abbot, I have come to lay my bones among you'—was only too soon fulfilled. The faithful secretary was with his master at his death 'in the morning, as the clock struck eight.' He heard the great Cardinal's vain regret, 'Had I but served my God as I have served my King, He would not have deserted me in my old age!' He realized that Wolsey had fallen because he had put his trust in princes. No wonder that he ends the story of his master's life with a bitter protest against 'the wondrous mutability of vain honours, the uncertainty of dignities, the flattering of feigned friends, and the tickle trust of worldly princes.'

SPEECH OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

(*From Shakespeare's 'Henry VIII.'*)

Wolsey. Farewell! a long farewell, to all my greatness!
This is the state of man: to-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hopes; to-morrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honours thick upon him;
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
And, when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
His greatness is a-ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls, as I do. I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
This many summers in a sea of glory,
But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride
At length broke under me, and now has left me,
Weary and old with service, to the mercy
Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.

Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye :
I feel my heart new open'd. O, how wretched
Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours !
There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to,
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,
More pangs and fears than wars or women have :
And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
Never to hope again.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

(1478—1535.)

WOLSEY with all his pomp failed to win in his lifetime the hearts of the English people. He always looked at England from the point of view of other nations. He earnestly desired to raise and educate the people, but this was never what he had most at heart. He wanted above all things to make England an important power in Europe. Happily, there were others who could look at England from within, who felt and sympathized with the needs of the people, and who sought to raise their country, not by vast schemes of alliances abroad, but by helping the people to learn and think for themselves. At the close of the fifteenth century all Europe was filled with a spirit of unrest. It was a time of great inventions and great discoveries. Indirectly these had been helped by the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. There had been a great exodus of Greek scholars, who scattered over Europe and roused among the students at the Universities an enthusiasm for the Greek language and literature which hitherto had been almost entirely confined to Italy. Men studied the classics, and looked back to a time before the world was ruled by Popes and feudal princes. The New Testament was opened to them; they detected a great difference between Christ's teaching and the practices of the

Church. They looked forward to a new order of things. Some men studied the ancient philosophers, others the poets and historians, others the Scriptures, all bent alike on the search for truth. Whatever they read and whatever conclusions they arrived at, their minds were opened. They were ready for change. It was the Renaissance, the waking of the world, the close of the Middle Ages with all their blind enthusiasms, their grand theories, their hopelessly corrupt practice. Not only did the fall of Constantinople open a new world of thought to men, indirectly it opened a new world of life and action. It was in their efforts to avoid the Turks of the Mediterranean that men found America. It was a time of endless possibilities and hitherto undreamed-of changes.

An earnest group of scholars, who had first gathered together at Oxford, threw themselves heart and soul into the work of rousing Englishmen to read more widely and think more clearly. The foremost of them were Grocyn and Linacre, two students who had read Greek in the Italian Universities; Colet, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's; and Lilly, the first headmaster of St. Paul's school. The youngest, the most attractive and brilliant of the group, was Thomas More. More had been a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, Henry VII.'s Chancellor, and his master had prophesied that he would 'make a marvellous man.' In 1492 he passed on to Oxford, where he became a devoted student of Latin and Greek. His father, a famous lawyer, who destined his son for the Bar, was obliged to recall him, lest in his passion for the New Learning he should lose all taste for the legal profession. In 1494 he was called home to London, and was entered as a law student first at New Inn, later at Lincoln's Inn. But

in his legal pursuits More dropped neither his Oxford studies nor his Oxford friends. He saw much of Grocyn and Linacre, who within a few years came to London. Probably through them he first knew Colet, and formed a deep attachment to him; while Colet, for his part, recognised that More was 'the one genius that England possessed.' Through his Oxford friends More was also brought into contact with the famous wandering scholar Erasmus, who was then teaching in England, and who, like all the rest of the world, fell in love with his brilliant mind and winning ways. In later life Erasmus often became More's guest. Erasmus was undoubtedly the greatest genius of the little group. He had tasted of the routine of the monastery in his youth, and recognised the intense corruptions of the Pope's Court at Rome. It was probably through his influence that his friend's eyes were opened to the abuses of the mediæval Church. At one time of his life More, who was by nature intensely religious, had entertained serious thoughts of becoming a monk. He gave up the idea, perhaps persuaded by his friends, perhaps because he found there were abuses in the Church of his day which were hateful to his sincerity. Later on he spared neither Pope nor monk in his satires.

In 1504 More entered Parliament, and then for the first time his friends must have realized how keenly he had the interests of the people at heart. This was the time when Henry VII., in pursuance of his great schemes of foreign alliances, was goading the people almost to rebellion by heavy taxation. His officers, Empson and Dudley, were called 'ravening wolves.' In this year the King demanded a heavy tax in Parliament on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter with James IV. of Scotland. More stoutly resisted, and the King was

forced to be content with less than one-third of the amount. Henry did not easily forgive. He found occasion to imprison and extract a fine from More's



SIR THOMAS MORE.

[Holbein.]

father, and More became so well aware of the royal displeasure that he thought of leaving England for a time. But in 1509 Henry died, and with him fell the two

unpopular Ministers. Henry VIII. was young, high-spirited, impressionable, and a patron of the New Learning. Men rejoiced, for they saw the makings of a great king in him. More's fortunes were no longer threatened. In 1505 he had married, and a young family was growing up round him. He proved himself as kind and bright a husband and father as he had hitherto been a charming friend. His wife only lived six years, and after her death he married a widow some years older than himself, who made a good mother to his children. His home at Chelsea became renowned for its peaceful intellectual atmosphere; among his guests he from time to time reckoned the King himself. The master of the house, with his 'keen irregular face, gray restless eye, thin mobile lips, tumbled brown hair, and careless gait and dress,' was as ready to jest with his monarch as with his children, and was the great centre of attraction to all his guests.

Meanwhile More was rising in his profession. His great talent attracted Wolsey's notice, and in 1518 he was promoted to the post of examiner of petitions to the King on progress. This brought him into close touch with Henry VIII., by whose wish he entered the Privy Council. It was not only at Court that he became prime favourite. Of all men in England he was most able to understand and appreciate every class with which he came into contact. In 1515 he was sent as peace-maker to Flanders on behalf of the London merchants, who were quarrelling with the group of foreigners known as the Hanse merchants. When these quarrels came to a head in riots throughout the City, More's eloquence induced the rebels to disperse quietly, and he was afterwards appointed to inquire into the riot. There must have been a rare power of

sympathy and understanding in the man who could be at once a royal favourite, the spokesman of the trading classes, and the most popular member of the little knot of old Oxford scholars. He was later to prove himself an absolutely impartial Lord High Chancellor, and the famous author of the 'Utopia.'

The 'Utopia' is the most renowned of More's works. Every page reveals the keen insight, the cool criticism, the warm sympathy of the author. He touched with genuine earnestness on deep problems and questions which might easily have roused the King's ire, but he was able to handle every subject delicately by means of his magic wand of wit and humour. The book was a satire on our own country in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The first book set before the people in plain language the ills under which they laboured; the cruel punishments which could not deter men from crime; the numbers of idle gentry who lived, like drones, on the labour of their long-suffering tenants; the custom of turning corn-land into pasture because wool fetched a higher price than corn.

This change had already ruined hundreds. Fewer men were wanted to mind the sheep than to plough, sow, and reap, and whole households were turned adrift. More wrote: 'The sheep have become so great devourers and so wild that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves.' He dared to touch on the tyranny of the Tudor kings, and the unjust means they used to enrich themselves; the debasement of the coinage, taxes for feigned wars, the revival of 'old and moth-eaten laws,' the heavy penalties and fines. In the second book the remedy was provided in the sketch of the ideal republic, 'Utopia,' Nowhere. Here goods were possessed in common, and work was

compulsory on all. All men had leisure, and all men were educated, for in More's eyes ignorance was the root of vice. No punishment was out of proportion to the crime committed, but the temptations to commit crime were removed. There was no ceaseless striving after riches, gold was a badge of infamy, and precious stones were the playthings of children. There was absolute toleration in religion, for More believed that 'the truth of its own power would at last issue and come to light.' The most revolutionary views of kingship were put forward. In 'Nowhere' a sovereign was 'removable on suspicion of a design to enslave the people.'

More cannot really have wished the English of his day to adopt such republican forms of government. Perhaps he hoped to instil into the people something of the spirit which underlies an ideal republic—the ideas of brotherhood, of mutual helpfulness and self-sacrifice, something more of equality between man and man. Henry VIII.'s own ideas of government were distinctly opposed to More's theories. Nevertheless, the two had other interests in common which bound them very closely together. More's son-in-law, William Roper, tells in his biography how persistently the King sought More's company, visiting him on familiar terms at Chelsea, and bidding him 'be merry with' himself and the Queen in private, till More, in self-defence, was obliged to feign depression and lack of wit. Yet throughout these royal attentions More realized the changeable character of the King's friendship, and once, when Roper congratulated him, he wearily replied, 'If my head were to win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go.'

In 1523 More was made Speaker of the House of

Commons. Wolsey's influence had won him the position, but it became his painful duty to oppose the wishes of his patron. When Wolsey demanded a heavy subsidy to further his vast foreign schemes, More, in the name of the House, refused. He was acting in accordance with his theories in the 'Utopia,' where he condemned 'the effort of princes by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions,' rather than to see 'how well and peaceably to rule and govern that they have already.' It was the rival principles of Wolsey and More clashing again. Wolsey wanted English princes to be reckoned great among other princes; More wanted English people to be great among other people. More prevailed, and Wolsey exclaimed that he 'would to God that More had been at Rome when he made him Speaker!'

In 1529 More succeeded Wolsey in the chancellorship. It was the highest point of his power. Great scholars, foreign ambassadors, and the common people alike bare witness to the uprightness and vigour of his conduct—this at a time when bribery and corruption were the rule in all high offices. Erasmus wrote, 'A better or holier judge could not have been appointed.' The people showed their appreciation, after he had retired from office, in the popular doggerel, which ran:

• When More some time had Chancellor been,
No more did suits remain;
The like will never more be seen
Till More be there again.'

He showed an untiring devotion to duty and a sense of justice, which led him to return all presents made to him and to encourage the suitors to invade his own house at Chelsea, where he 'sat in open hall, and, if possible, brought parties to friendly reconciliation.'

But the cause of Wolsey's fall was also the cause of More's. The Oxford Reformers recognised sadly the corruptions of the Papal Court—its greed for money, its ambition for earthly power. They realized that pardons and indulgences were not matters of purchase, that there could be no sacred tie in marriage-vows which were broken by a dispensation from the Pope. On all these points they must have agreed heartily with Luther, the great German reformer. But it was no part of their belief that the great Catholic Church should be broken up, merely because it had fallen upon evil days. They thought that by education, and by the gradual pressure of public opinion, the system of buying and selling spiritual things could be abolished. They wanted to teach men that pardons bought for money were worthless, not to overthrow the Pope's authority because the swarm of pardoners came from Rome. Luther thought these evils were incurable while the Pope remained in power. The whole world was perplexed. More, torn asunder between his disgust at the abuses of the Church and his dislike to the Reformation in Germany, must have been deeply troubled. He said if he could see universal peace, uniformity of religion, and the settlement of the King's 'matter of his marriage,' 'he would he were put in a sack and here presently cast into the Thames.'

The King's matter had already caused the fall of Wolsey. It was soon to be the overthrow of men even more innocent than the great Cardinal. The Pope refused to allow the divorce. Henry was determined that it should take place. He resolved that the Pope, who had refused to listen to his complaints, should be effaced from England as a figure from a slate that had served its purpose and was no longer wanted. Before

Henry dared to take such a step, he must have known well the attitude of his subjects towards the abuses of Rome. There was a general feeling of discontent and doubt. The famous Reformation Parliament was called, and by its Acts England denied the power of the Pope, and the King himself became the Supreme Head of the Church in England. Even before these Acts were completed Katharine had been divorced and the King married Anne Boleyn.

There were many men who, in spite of their sorrow at the evils connected with the Pope's Court, could not agree with Henry's proceedings in Parliament. More himself, looking on in silent disapproval, uttered the prayer, 'God give grace that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oaths.' In the spring of the year 1532 he resigned his chancellorship. He refused to attend the coronation of the new Queen. In the following year he was accused of sympathizing with a rebellion in Kent under the 'Holy Maid of Kent,' the cause of which was the separation from Rome.

His name was among those of men accused of treason in a Bill which was introduced into Parliament in 1534, and though it was afterwards omitted, in the same year an oath of adherence to the new Queen and her descendants was demanded from everyone, also an oath renouncing the power of the Pope. More was summoned to take these oaths, but he was determined from the first not to do so, even though he guessed that refusal meant imprisonment. As he set out from Chelsea for the last time, his family gathered round the gate, as was their wont, to bid him farewell. More 'pulled the wicket after him, and shut them all from him, and with a heavy heart took his boat towards Lambeth.' Only his son-in-law Roper and four servants

accompanied him. On the way he turned to Roper, and said quietly: 'Son Roper, I thank our Lord the field is won.' From that moment he never flinched in his determination, and together with Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, he was committed to the Tower.

More's source of income was gone, his home broken up, his health failing, but in spite of persuasions even from his wife he refused to take the oath. To his wife's hysterical entreaties he calmly rejoined: 'Is not this house as nigh heaven as mine own?' To the officers who were sent to argue with him he replied 'that Parliament could no more create the King Supreme Head of the Church than they could create a new God above.' Death stared him in the face, and he met it boldly. In July, 1535, the King condemned his old friend to die. On the day before his death, More sent to his eldest daughter, Margaret Roper, the hair-shirt which, for his own humiliation, he had always worn. In a letter scribbled in coal for lack of ink, he wrote: 'To-morrow is St. Thomas' even and the octave of St. Peter, therefore to-morrow long I to go to God.' On the scaffold his coolness did not desert him. He calmly remarked to the officer who was assisting him: 'I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself.'

More's death was keenly felt by all classes of the people, nor was the respect for him confined to England. On hearing the news, the Emperor Charles exclaimed: 'If we had been master of such a servant, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions than such a worthy councillor.'



KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE. [F. Frith and Co.]

Planned by Henry VI, built chiefly by Henry VII., completed by Henry VIII

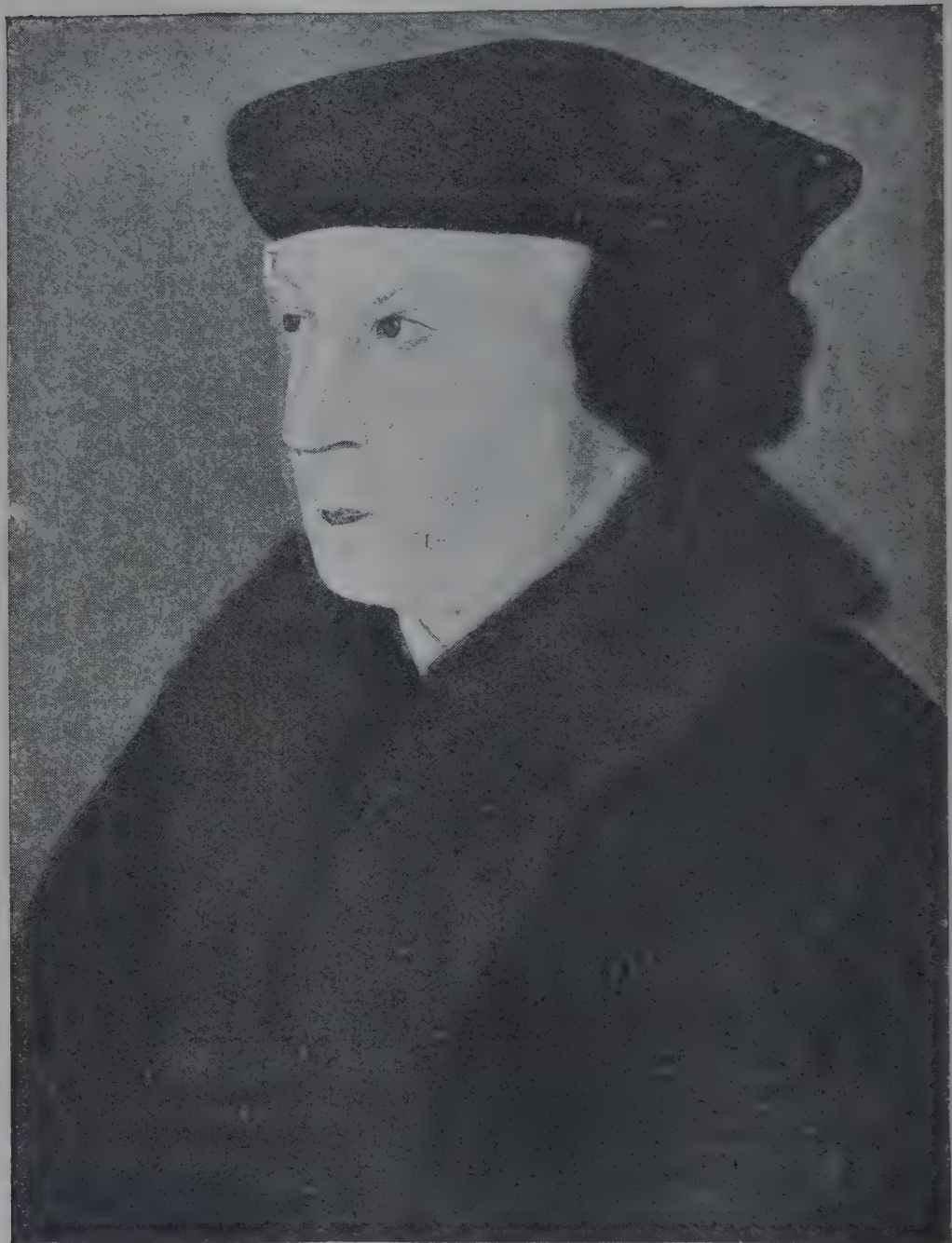
WORDSWORTH'S SONNET ON KING'S COLLEGE
CHAPEL.

Tax not the royal saint with vain expense,
With ill-match'd aims the architect who planned—
Albeit labouring for a scanty band
Of white-rob'd scholars only—this immense
And glorious work of fine intelligence !
Give all thou canst ; high Heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely-calculated less or more.
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof,
Self-poised and scooped into ten thousand cells,
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells,
Lingering and wandering on as loth to die ;
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
That they were born for immortality.

THOMAS CROMWELL.

(1485—1540.)

AMONG the followers of Wolsey who retired to Esher with him was one of his secretaries, Thomas Cromwell, a man whose ability had attracted the Cardinal's attention in earlier years. He was of low birth, the son of a citizen of Putney, who seems to have united the duties of blacksmith, fuller and shearer of cloth, and innkeeper. Cromwell had spent a wild youth, and had at one time been imprisoned and forced to leave the country. On the Continent he probably served as a common soldier in the Italian wars, but afterwards became a merchant's clerk. On his return to England he engaged in his father's business, becoming in time a successful money-lender and lawyer. It was in this capacity that he first had dealings with Wolsey, who was quick to perceive ability, especially when it was directed towards money-making. When Wolsey became Archbishop of York, he appointed Cromwell collector of his revenues. In 1523 Cromwell entered Parliament, and proved an eloquent speaker. Wolsey employed him as his agent in the suppression of the smaller monasteries, to endow his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. In this work Cromwell gained a good deal of experience, of which he made use later; he also found various indirect means of advancing his own fortunes. With him was associated Dr. Allan, who



[School of Holbein.]

THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

(From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.)

afterwards became Bishop of Dublin. The suppression of even the smaller and more corrupt monasteries was

not likely to prove popular, but the harsh methods of Wolsey's two agents and their readiness to take bribes made their names hated not only by the monks, but by the common people. Their ill-fame spread to the Court, and drew a remonstrance from Henry VIII., who was certainly no friend to the monks. But Cromwell proved a useful servant; he transacted all Wolsey's legal affairs, and when his great patron fell it seemed to be to his own interest to do all in his power to help him. It was this which led him to Esher with the Cardinal.

One day Cavendish found Cromwell weeping, and when he inquired anxiously whether Wolsey were in any new trouble, the secretary replied that he wept over his own fallen fortunes, for he was 'in disdain with most men for his master's sake.' He repeatedly upbraided Wolsey, because he was no longer able to recompense his services. However, when the Bill of Attainder was brought in, Cromwell saw that at all costs it must be defeated, as it contained certain clauses concerning Wolsey's treatment of the monasteries which were likely to injure the agents who had conducted the business. He hastened to London, and the Bill was defeated through his opposition. Instead Henry proceeded against Wolsey by declaring him guilty of a breach of the Statute of *Præmunire*, which forbade the introduction of Bulls from Rome without the King's consent. It is possible that Cromwell proposed this course to the King; it has even been suggested that he handed over Wolsey's papers containing the royal letters of license to introduce the Bulls in question. In any case, Cromwell was entrusted with the task of dispensing the estates from Wolsey's confiscated property to the nobles. At the same time, by his opposition to the Bill of Attainder he

won the reputation of being 'the most faithfullest servant to his master of all other.'

Scarcely clearer are the circumstances which raised Cromwell suddenly in the King's favour. He may have suggested to Henry that a further inquiry into the state of the monasteries might prove profitable to his coffers. It is generally supposed that an even bolder suggestion came from him—namely, that if the Pope refused to comply with Henry's wishes in the divorce, the King, for his part, might refuse further obedience to the Pope. It is almost impossible to overestimate the influence of the royal divorce question on the actual course of the English Reformation. The separation from Rome was brought about in the first instance to satisfy the royal will. In this the course of the Reformation in England was directly opposite to that in Germany, where the movement came from the people, and the overthrow of the Pope's power was made in spite of the Emperor. In England, however, although it was brought about by a Parliament subservient to the King's will, it is important to remember that the Pope's authority could not have been overthrown, or, even if overthrown, would have been restored, had there not been a strong spirit of repugnance and criticism among the people, which weakened the ties between England and Rome. This opposition to the power of the Pope was not new. The Church in Britain had been founded long before the Popes had been in a position to claim control over every branch of the Christian Church in the West. Their claims had grown with their power, and had largely been recognised throughout Europe, in England as elsewhere. But the English Church had always been very independent in character. The kings had set distinct

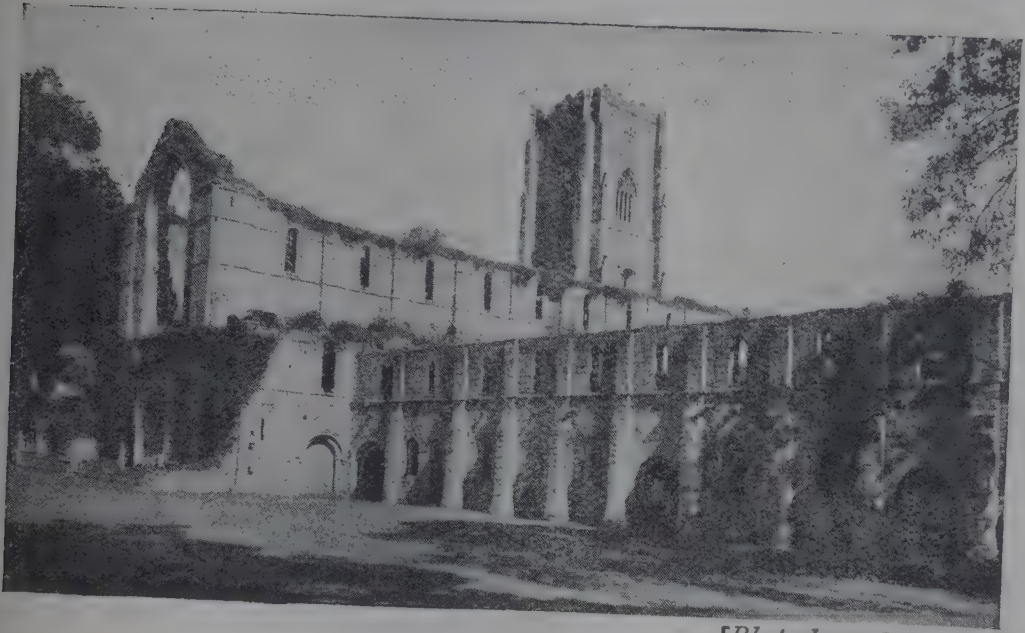
limits to the extent to which they would recognise the Papal power; the clergy themselves had from time to time led a vigorous resistance, and Parliament had passed laws to restrain the Pope's interference. Hence the separation from Rome was the climax of a long movement of questioning and doubting. In spite of this the Papal claims were of such long standing, and the bulk of the people were so used to thinking of the Pope as head of the Church, that the breach with Rome was not likely to be accomplished without trouble. The so-called Reformation Parliament carried out its work of separation in seven years, first forbidding taxes to be paid to the Pope, or appeals to be made to his court, and finally declaring that the 'Bishop of Rome had no more power in England than any other foreign bishop.' Cromwell was the prime mover of these Acts. Lord Campbell has compared his rise to power to that of a slave at the court of an Eastern despot, who, from being the poorest menial, is suddenly transformed into the Grand Vizier, so rapidly did he accumulate offices in his hands. In 1533 he became Chancellor, Master of the Rolls, and Secretary of State; in 1535 Vicar-General. In this last post he had absolute control over both Church and State. The next year he was made Lord Privy Seal and Dean of Wells, in spite of the fact that he was not in Holy Orders. In 1539 he was made Great Chamberlain and a peer of the realm, under the title of the Earl of Essex.

Cromwell began his work of reforming the Church by a further examination of the monasteries. The dissolution of both the lesser monasteries in 1536 and the greater monasteries in 1539 is inseparably connected with his name. His conduct in the matter is bitterly disputed. On the one hand the historian

Froude recognises in Cromwell 'the genius to see what other men could not see,' and concludes that for that reason 'he was condemned to rule a generation that hated him, to do the will of God, and perish in his success.' On the other hand, there is ample evidence to prove the harshness and corruption that stained Cromwell's work. By the sixteenth century the monasteries, which in their time had performed a splendid work, were in many cases full of abuses. What had been their strength had become their weakness. The whole idea of monastic life was isolation from the world. When the world was sharply divided between men of war and men of religion, the monasteries offered a retreat for those who wished to spend their lives in peaceful work and prayer. That they were the true centres of religion was proved by the enthusiasm with which they were greeted. Lands and wealth were lavishly bestowed upon them. The monks became the greatest landholders in the country, the biggest wheat-growers when their lands lay in the fertile plains, the largest sheep-farmers on the grassy hillsides of the north and west. The tithes of the neighbouring parish churches were often appropriated to them. The Benedictines possessed eight or nine cathedrals, and the election of the bishops rested with them. The monks played an all-important part in country life. They were good neighbours and fair landlords. The commissions of the peace were often headed by the name of an abbot or prior. The monasteries were hostelrys for travellers, charitable institutions for the poor, and schools for the education of children.

But their best day was over. The New Learning, the great agent of the spirit of the Renaissance, bringing

with it an intelligent study of the Scriptures and the exposure of many abuses in the Church, could never be spread through the monastic schools. There was no organization in their charity; it was likely to pauperize, and depended too much on the character of the individual abbot or prior. No fresh breath of criticism circulated constantly round monastic life. The monks were answerable to no court save that of Rome. If corruptions came to light,



FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

[Photochrom Co., Ltd.]

silence could be purchased and indulgences bought. Undoubtedly, in the smaller monasteries the two great ideas of work and prayer were often forgotten. But this cannot have been the case everywhere, as the report of Cromwell's agents tried to prove. The real cause of the fall of the monasteries was that, after the separation from Rome, it was impossible for the King to retain as his subjects a large body of men who had never been used to recognise any authority except that of the Pope.

Moreover, the treasury was empty. That was a potent reason for the King's action. Cromwell's agents everywhere blackened the character of the monasteries, and the staunch refusal of many of the leading abbots to agree to the Act of Supremacy could not be overcome. With the monks fell the friars. The Franciscans were condemned first. They were bold in their loyalty to Katharine. The Carthusians refused to take the oath of succession which made Anne Boleyn's children the lawful heirs. In 1535 and 1536 came the general visitation of the lesser monasteries. The report of the Commissioners laid before Parliament in 1536 was known as 'the Black Book.' Parliament itself was packed. Many of the abbots were excluded from the Upper House. The King had sent them 'excuses'—namely, commands to stay away. The dissolution was decided on. Only the superiors were pensioned. The monks were nominally allowed to choose between entering a larger foundation or becoming homeless. In many cases it must perforce have meant the latter.

Cromwell's system of supervision and spying was not confined to the monasteries. His secret agents were everywhere. The Abbot of Colchester was condemned for expressing his admiration of More and Fisher. A poor woman of Wells was set in the stocks with the words, 'A reporter of false tales' set about her head, because she had reported the performance of a miracle at the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham after the image had been removed. This was the useless and cruel way in which Cromwell sought to punish those who were simply adhering to the beliefs in which they had been brought up. The changes were not received without opposition. As early as 1534 Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent,

had been executed for her wild prophecies of evil about to overtake the King. Reginald Pole, the great English Cardinal, one of the last representatives of the House of York, was stirring up the people from abroad by his threats of vengeance to come.

In 1536 the great northern rebellion 'the Pilgrimage of Grace' broke out. It was a protest partly against the enclosure of commons, eviction of tenants, and the debasement of coinage, but partly against the policy of Thomas Cromwell and the separation from Rome. The rebellion was put down by a promise of general pardon, but Cromwell dared not keep his word. Many abbots and a multitude of commoners were punished with death. The Acts of Attainder against the abbots brought more lands within the King's grasp. The Abbeys of Whalley, Furness, Lenton, and Woburn fell in this way. In 1539 the abbots of the three great Benedictine houses, Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester, suffered death. Cromwell's diary gives us a glimpse into his method of proceeding against them. An entry stands. 'Item: The Abbot of Reading to be sent down to be tried *and executed* at Reading, with his accomplices. Item: The Abbot of Glastonbury to be tried at Glastonbury *and also executed* there with his accomplices.' In the same year an Act of Parliament dealt with the greater as with the smaller monasteries. Their property was all confiscated to the King and their occupants turned adrift. The question arises, How did Cromwell dispose of such vast accumulations of wealth? It is only fair to say that much of it was devoted to national purposes, to education, to guarding the coast, improving the fleet, and to the support of a costly foreign policy. The King spent much on his own royal palaces, doubtless Cromwell also, for he lived

in magnificence almost equal to Wolsey's. Only a very small portion went back to the Church from which it was taken. Meanwhile the country was flooded with homeless monks, who increased the swarms of beggars and highwaymen already existing, and were a constant reminder to the nation of Cromwell's evil policy.

Cromwell's fall was destined to be as sudden as his rise had been. Henry's second wife, Anne Boleyn, had perished on the block in 1536; his third, Jane Seymour,



RIEVAULX ABBEY.

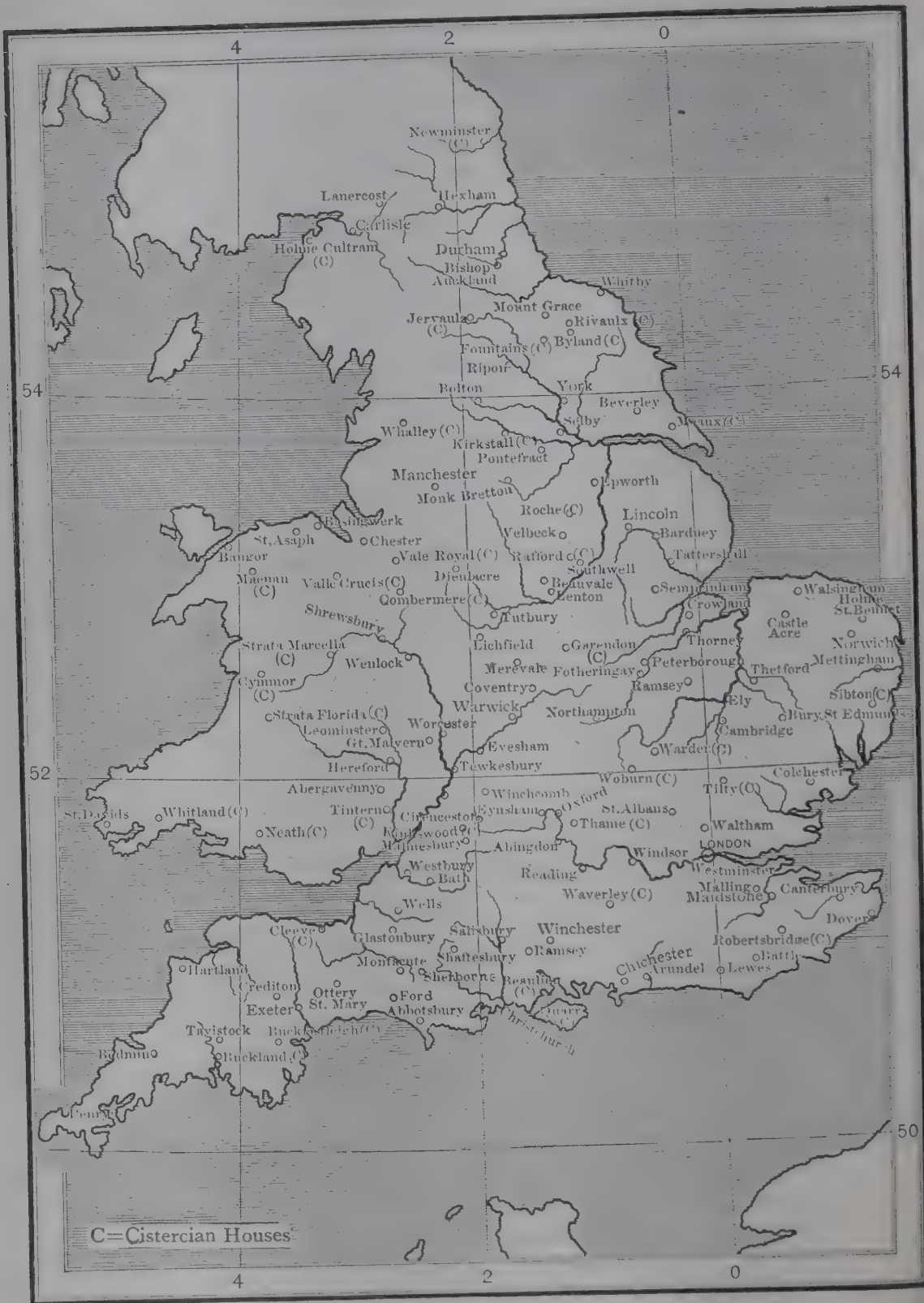
[Photochrom Co., Ltd.]

had died after the birth of her son, Prince Edward. In 1539 Cromwell thought to strengthen the position of England abroad, and to pledge the King still further to his own policy by an alliance with the Protestant*

* The term 'Protestant' arose in Germany. In 1526 a diet or council was held which forbade all innovations in religion, and refused to tolerate heretics. A number of leading princes 'protested' against these decrees, and in the religious wars that followed those who opposed the faith and practice of the Catholic Church were known as 'Protestants.' This term spread to other countries. It was often the foreign policy of England to support the Protestants on the Continent, because, like them, we refused to recognise the power of the Pope, and

princes of Germany. Henry had been willing to renounce the power of the Pope, but had no idea of questioning the teaching of the Church. In the Parliament of that very year the Act of Six Articles had been passed, commanding the maintenance of the old doctrines. Cromwell's interests were closely bound up with those of the Protestant princes, hence he proposed a German princess, Anne of Cleves, as the King's fourth wife. The painter Holbein was entrusted with the task of producing a flattering portrait of the lady. The King was satisfied with it, and Anne was invited to England to be married. But the unhappy princess arrived only to be married and divorced immediately, while Henry indignantly styled her 'a great Flanders mare.' Cromwell's fall was the sequel of the marriage. He had proved a useful tool, but his work was done. It was no part of Henry's policy to support a servant so thoroughly unpopular as Cromwell. The Duke of Norfolk was allowed to bring a charge of treason against him; he was arrested, and on the very day of his arrest the King began to distribute his offices. On the morning of June 10, 1540, Cromwell was supreme in England; in the evening he was a prisoner in the Tower, petitioning frantically and helplessly for his release. A Bill of Attainder was hastily passed against him, and on June 28 he was led out to Tower Hill to die. No man has ever died less pitied. Cromwell had been entrusted with a work that would have made any man unpopular, but his cruelty, his avarice and corruption made him the most hated Minister who has ever served an English king.

the countries who continued to do so leagued together against us. But after its separation from Rome our Church remained, as it had always been, a branch of the Catholic Church, the teaching of which centred round the Sacraments, and under the government of Bishops.



CHIEF RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF THEIR DISSOLUTION

EDWARD SEYMOUR, THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

(1506 (?) — 1552.)

THE opening of the year 1547 brought great changes to England. Henry VIII. died. The last years of his reign had been a time of trouble and perplexity. He now left a boy of nine years old to succeed him, and a country over which he had indeed been master, but which was full of factions and discontent. Of the two distinct parties among the nobles, neither had been altogether in touch with the King. There was the old Catholic party, which had, however, been weakened by many deaths. In the very last year of Henry's reign the great Duke of Norfolk had been disgraced, and his son Surrey executed. Among the new nobility which had been enriched by the lands of the monasteries, the leaders were John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and the two Seymours, uncles of the little King. Of these, Lord Hertford, the elder, was destined during the next few years to guide England through her troubles.

Hertford and his brother had both been popular with the late King, and had risen high in his service. Hertford was a distinguished soldier. He had been in command of the army which had defeated the Scots at Solway Moss, and during the war with France he had assisted at the capture of Boulogne. He was well



Collection A. Rischgitz.

(Holbein.)

HERTFORD, THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

known to belong to the Reform party in religious matters, and had taken an active part in the trial of some of the leaders of the opposite party. At the close

of the reign he was Lord Chamberlain, and he and Sir William Paget, the Chief Secretary, were with the King at his death, and had the royal will in their keeping. Hertford has consequently been accused of tampering with, or even inventing, the terms of the will, but this is unlikely, as they were decidedly not in his favour. They provided for Edward's minority to last till he was eighteen, and named a council of sixteen to carry on the government.

Hertford did not immediately publish the news of the King's death. For a few days, while the great monarch lay dead, things went on in England just as if he had been alive, while Hertford was sounding the other lords, securing the person of the little King, and concerting his own plan of action. After three days Henry's death was announced in Parliament, and on the same day Edward was proclaimed King throughout the city, and received the oaths of the Privy Council. This haste was well advised, for the King's two elder sisters were possible rivals to the throne. Soon afterwards the executors of Henry's will, among whom the lords of the Reform Party predominated, met and elected Hertford Protector, and the only great statesman who opposed him, Lord Wriothlesley, lost the chancellorship. Still later Hertford, under the title Earl of Somerset, became Protector by a patent issued in the name of the young King, and a new Privy Council was nominated, of whom the Protector might summon 'such and so many as he from time to time should think convenient.' Henry's will had been practically set aside, and the chief power fell into the hands of Somerset.

Somerset's task was no light one, for grave issues had to be decided. Henry had tried to strike a balance between religious parties, to throw off the authority of

the Pope, but to leave unchanged all the practices and the beliefs of the Church. Early in his reign the Pope himself had granted him the title Defender of the Faith, for writing a reply to Martin Luther. Many were not satisfied by this compromise. Among the nobles and the clergy there existed a party who would gladly have returned to obedience to Rome.

On the Continent the Pope and Emperor, urged by the Yorkist Englishman, Cardinal Pole, were considering an attempt to place Mary, Katharine of Aragon's daughter, on the throne. Mary was staunch in her allegiance to the Pope. France was contemplating a still more dangerous step. The young Queen of Scotland was Mary, daughter of the Scotch King James V. and Mary of Guise. In 1543 the Scotch had promised their Queen as the wife of Edward of England; but by 1547 they were considering her union with a French prince, Francis, the son of the Dauphin. Within a few months of Henry's death the Dauphin became Henry II. of France. He was the leader of the anti-English party in France, and at once war was imminent. If Edward and his sisters were to die without heirs, the Scotch Queen might become the claimant of the English throne, and a French King rule in England.

Apart from the difficulties in religion and foreign policy, Henry had in his later years threatened the very freedom of the constitution, and made himself almost an absolute ruler. Was Somerset to follow in his steps? Perhaps the most serious danger threatened from the people themselves, who were suffering from extreme poverty and inclined to rebel. All these difficulties had now to be faced, not by a king with his royal power behind him, but by a nobleman whose influence

over the other nobles had never been great, and whose position as Protector was insecure.

Whatever Somerset's faults were, he did not lack energy. He has been accused of time-serving and insincerity, of playing down to the people, of plotting against the nobles, of conniving at his own brother's death. But he had a difficult post to fill. He was in power for two years only, and two years is a short time in which to settle the affairs of a nation. He had enemies both among the old nobility and among the Protestants, even in his own family. In spite of his difficulties Somerset had a clear conception of the way in which he wished England to be governed. He set to work to carry it out boldly, and if he failed, his failure was quite as much due to the difficulties of his position as to his own personal weakness. The religious problem was the most difficult, and from Somerset's point of view it could only be solved in one way. He believed in a reformation of the practices and some of the doctrines of the Church, not merely in the separation from Rome. He thought that as the King was now head of the Church the State should be supreme, and the Church subject to it. Bishops were therefore to be on an equality with secular officers, and their election was to take place by letters patent from the King. Laymen were appointed to sit on commissions that inquired into religious questions, and in a few cases heretics were tried before the Privy Council, not before a Church court. Somerset's first Parliament repealed the Six Articles of Henry VIII.; and abolished chantries where priests were engaged only in praying for the souls of the dead. A general visitation of all the dioceses was authorized, in order to inquire into the character of the services held in the churches. Somerset

believed firmly in an English service and the circulation of an English Bible. In the last year of his Protectorship the first English Prayer-Book was published, and its use enforced by the first Act of Uniformity, which also provided that all persons were to attend the services of the Church. In all these doings Somerset showed his Protestant tendency, but he was not violent or bigoted. The Prayer-Book contained little that was new, the chantry priests were pensioned, and to the Princess Mary Somerset granted a licence to have Mass celebrated in private. Nevertheless, there was something of the stern Puritan in him. It found voice in a proclamation warning 'parents to keep their children from the evil and pernicious games of dicing, carding, bowling, tennis, quoits, closhes, and the like.'

As a ruler Somerset proved that he had a genuine desire for liberty. It was not only because he realized that he was too weak to play the part of a despot. He consulted Parliament on foreign affairs, and tolerated a freedom of speech which was not at all in accordance with Tudor ideas of government. His whole policy was liberal and enlightened. A great Act of Repeal was passed, in the preamble of which Somerset's ideas of the duty of a ruler are set forth: 'On the Prince's part great clemency and indulgency, and rather too much forgiveness and remission of his royal power and just punishment than exact severity and justice.' All the new offences which Henry VIII. had declared to be treasons and all laws against heretics were repealed, also one of the most aggressive of Henry's measures, that which gave to the King's proclamation the force of law.

But Somerset could not give his whole attention to restoring order and promoting the reformation of the

Church. The Scotch-French alliance must at all costs be averted. The Protector's views on the subject were decided: he judged the Scotch guilty of a distinct breach of faith with the English; he also recognised the importance of uniting Scotland and England. There was a strong Protestant party in Scotland, and the two countries united on equal terms might form a Protestant power influential enough to lead the reformed Churches of Europe. It was for these reasons that Somerset determined to lead an army into Scotland, 'to bring to good effect the godly purpose of the marriage between Edward VI. and Queen Mary.' As a General, Somerset's abilities were excellent, and the campaign was wholly successful. After the surrender of several castles to the English, Somerset's army met the forces of the Regent Arran by the river Esk, and the famous battle of Pinkie Cleugh was fought. The Scotch lost mainly because, in the words of a seventeenth-century historian, 'men will not believe any bees to be in a hive till they have a sharp sense of their stings.' They 'took the English for foolish birds fallen into their net.' They were in an impregnable position, with the river Esk in front of them, the sea on their left, to the right a swamp; yet they abandoned their position to cross the river by its one narrow bridge and attack the English. There are various exaggerated accounts of the battle and its terrible slaughter. The truth remains that the Scots were severely beaten, and several hundred prisoners taken, among them the Scotch Chancellor, the Earl of Huntly. Perhaps the noble prisoner expressed the feelings of his fellow-countrymen when, in speaking of the cause of the war, he said he was well affected to favour the marriage, but he nothing liked that kind of wooing. The victory of

Pinkie Cleugh was followed by few other successes, for the Protector was obliged to return to England. The French renewed their overtures, and the Scotch nobles, notably Arran, Bothwell, and Huntly, played a double game. They were finally bought over by the French, who sent both bribes and ships. Many of the chief Scottish strongholds fell into French hands, and after some uncertain fighting by sea and land during the year 1548, Somerset saw his cherished schemes thwarted. The young Queen was taken over to France and formally betrothed to the Dauphin. Somerset fell back on an old theory which had been revived by Henry VIII., and continued the war on the claim of the English King's overlordship of Scotland. It was a mistaken policy. The Scots felt their independence threatened, and it went far to reconcile the mass of the people to the French union.

Fresh troubles greeted the Protector at home. His brother Thomas, Baron Seymour of Sudeley, had always been jealous of his power. He had married the late king's widow, Katharine Parr, and constant petty jealousies arose between Katharine and Somerset's wife. Seymour was Lord High Admiral, but he had little power in the Government, and wanted to share his brother's honours. He had, moreover, in his household both the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey, two possible successors to the throne, and he had won over some of the leading lords, among them the Marquis of Dorset, to his friendship. In 1549 he was accused of plotting against the Protector, and condemned to death by a Bill of Attainder. This avoided a trial by peers, hence Seymour was never publicly heard in his own defence. Somerset was purposely absent at the passing of the Bill, 'for natural pity's sake,' but he practically

consented to the action of Parliament. His brother's death is the gravest stain that rests on the Protector's character.

It was all-important that the Government should be united, for in 1549 the poverty and discontent of the people caused open riots all over the country. The practice of turning corn-land into pasture and enclosing common lands for the same purpose had been growing steadily since Sir Thomas More's time. To rear the sheep fewer hands were wanted than to grow corn, hence tenants continued to be dismissed, only to roam homeless over the country. They had no longer even the monasteries to which to turn for relief. In some parts whole villages fell into ruins. One writer calculated that 50,000 towns* had lost one plough each, and as one plough was reckoned to maintain six persons, 300,000 fewer persons were provided for. The poor naturally turned to robbery for a living, hence the Tudor laws were severe on 'the waster who will not work but wander about.' The new nobles were among the most pitiless landlords. They were rising men, who cared much for wealth, little for their tenants. The old feudal ties of service and protection between tenant and lord had broken down, and instead a spirit of keen, hard competition was growing up. Somerset's laws against vagabonds are so severe that we can scarcely believe they were ever put into force. If it could be proved that a man had 'lived loiteringly' for three days, he was to be branded with the letter 'V,' and given over to the informer for two years to be his slave. But in theory the Protector sympathized with the grievances of the poor, their homelessness and poverty, the debasement of the coinage, and the high prices to which it

* The town or township would correspond to the village of to-day.

gave rise. A proclamation was issued forbidding further enclosures. At the same time an act of his own, the confiscation of the lands of the craft gilds, together with the religious gilds, had robbed the people of another source of support. More had seen the real remedy, the steady growth of manufactures in England. This in time would set the unemployed to work, and even in the sixteenth century manufacture was beginning to be carried on in large establishments. The story of one rich manufacturer, John Winchcombe, 'Jack of Newbury,' relates that he kept a hundred looms at work, and marched to Flodden Field at the head of a hundred workmen. But the Government only saw in the growth of large manufacturing establishments the danger of single sellers raising prices in the market, and they tried to repress them.

The rebels rose first in Wiltshire and Somerset. Here they were put down by Sir William Herbert, later Earl of Pembroke, who 'set sharply upon them, and oppressing some of the forwardest of them by death, suppressed all the residue by fear.' But soon after, in such different directions as Oxford and Devon, Yorkshire and Norfolk, the people 'fell into the same madness.' The persons who joined and the objects they had in view were diverse in the extreme. 'Some would have no justices, some no gentlemen, some no ordinary courts of justice, and, above all, enclosures must down.' Some others rose in favour of the old religion. In the West the rebels were driven back from Exeter, and were finally suppressed only by great cruelty. In Norfolk, where the rebellion was most serious, the people under the famous tanner Robert Ket assembled in a camp outside Norwich. Ket taught them that they were 'overtopped and trodden down by gentlemen.'

The camp was situated in a strong position on a hill, from which the rebels drove back many attacks; but at last they were dispersed by the Earl of Warwick, and their leader was captured after a short flight. All over the country the rebellions were punished with bloodshed.

After these outbreaks Somerset's unpopularity increased. Hitherto it had been thought that he had some hold on the people, and his enemies had been afraid to attack him. After the risings his schemes to abate the distress were opposed and thwarted in Parliament. The French took the opportunity of declaring war against England. As a ruler, Somerset appeared to be a failure, and the Council resolved to depose him.

Among Somerset's opponents, John Dudley,* Earl of Warwick, was most active. Somerset was seized and imprisoned, and twenty-eight articles of accusation were brought against him. He was accused of exceeding his power as Protector, inciting the people to rebellion, and sympathizing with them; of allowing the garrisons to be under-supplied, and of having libelled the other lords to the King. In his trouble Somerset's weakness of character came out. He acknowledged his offences, and submitted himself on his knees to the King's mercy. This subjection 'made an heavenly harmony in his enemies' ears.' He was stripped of all his offices, and though his goods and lands were restored to him and he was sworn into the Privy Council again, he was no longer the first man in England. There was some hope of restoring peace when Somerset's daughter married Warwick's son, 'but as this friendship was drawn together by fear on both sides, so it was not like to be more durable than

* See Table VII., p. 214.

was the fear.' The truth was, Warwick himself coveted Somerset's old position, and felt that he could not obtain it before Somerset was removed.

In the spring of 1552 the former Protector was accused of aiming at the crown. The plot was probably fictitious, but the general feeling against Somerset was strong enough to condemn him to death. His accusers evidently feared trouble, for on the day of the execution people were forbidden to leave their houses, but the order was not obeyed. To the vast crowd assembled at Tower Hill Somerset declared that he was 'condemned by a law whereunto he was subject,' and that he was 'well content.' He added 'that he had always been a furtherer of religion to the glory of God,' and besought the people 'to follow it on still.'

Suddenly came a wondrous fear upon the people after 'those words of him spoken.' There were cries for pardon and so great a confusion that Somerset might almost have effected his escape; but he realized that as a ruler he had failed, and as a failure he was condemned to die.

The Protector's own character had something to do with his fall. He had a noble ideal of government, but he was too weak to carry out his own ideas on any single subject. The result was that with one hand he was always undoing the work of the other. He longed to see England and Scotland united on free and equal terms by the marriage of the two Sovereigns, but to accomplish his object he resorted to the old hated claim of overlordship. The liberality with which he swept away a whole body of treason laws was contradicted by the ferocity of his laws against vagabonds, and the social distress which he tried to remedy was increased by his confiscation of the lands of the gilds. Hence

Somerset's two years of rule are writ down in history as a failure. It required a wiser and stronger ruler to settle the difficulties of Henry VIII.'s making.

Lines from 'The Pleasant History of John Winchcombe, in his younger years called Jack of Newbury,' showing the growth of industries in England.

Within one room, being large and long,
 There stood two hundred looms full strong.
 Two hundred men, the truth is so,
 Wrought in these looms all in a row.
 By every one a pretty boy
 Sat making quills with mickle joy.
 And in another place hard by
 An hundred women merrily
 Were carding hard with joyful cheer,
 Who singing sat with voices clear.
 And in a chamber close beside
 Two hundred maidens did abide,
 In petticoats of stammell red,
 And milk-white kerchers on their heads.

* * * * *

These pretty maids did never lin,*
 But in that place all day did spin,
 And spinning so with voices meet
 Like nightingales they sung full sweet.
 Then to another room came they
 Where children were, in poor array,
 And every one sat picking wool,
 The finest from the coarse to cull.

* Lin = cease.

The number was seven score and ten,
The children of poor silly men ;
And these their labours to requite
Had every one a penny at night,
Beside their meat and drink all day,
Which was to them a wondrous stay.
Within another place likewise
Full fifty proper men he spies,
And these were shearmen every one,
Whose skill and cunning there was shown.
And hard by them there did remain
Full fourscore rowers taking pain.
A dye-house likewise had he then,
Wherein he kept full forty men.
And likewise in his fulling-mill
Full twenty persons kept he still.



EDWARD VI.

[Holbein.]

(From a portrait in the Royal Gallery, Windsor.)

THOMAS CRANMER.

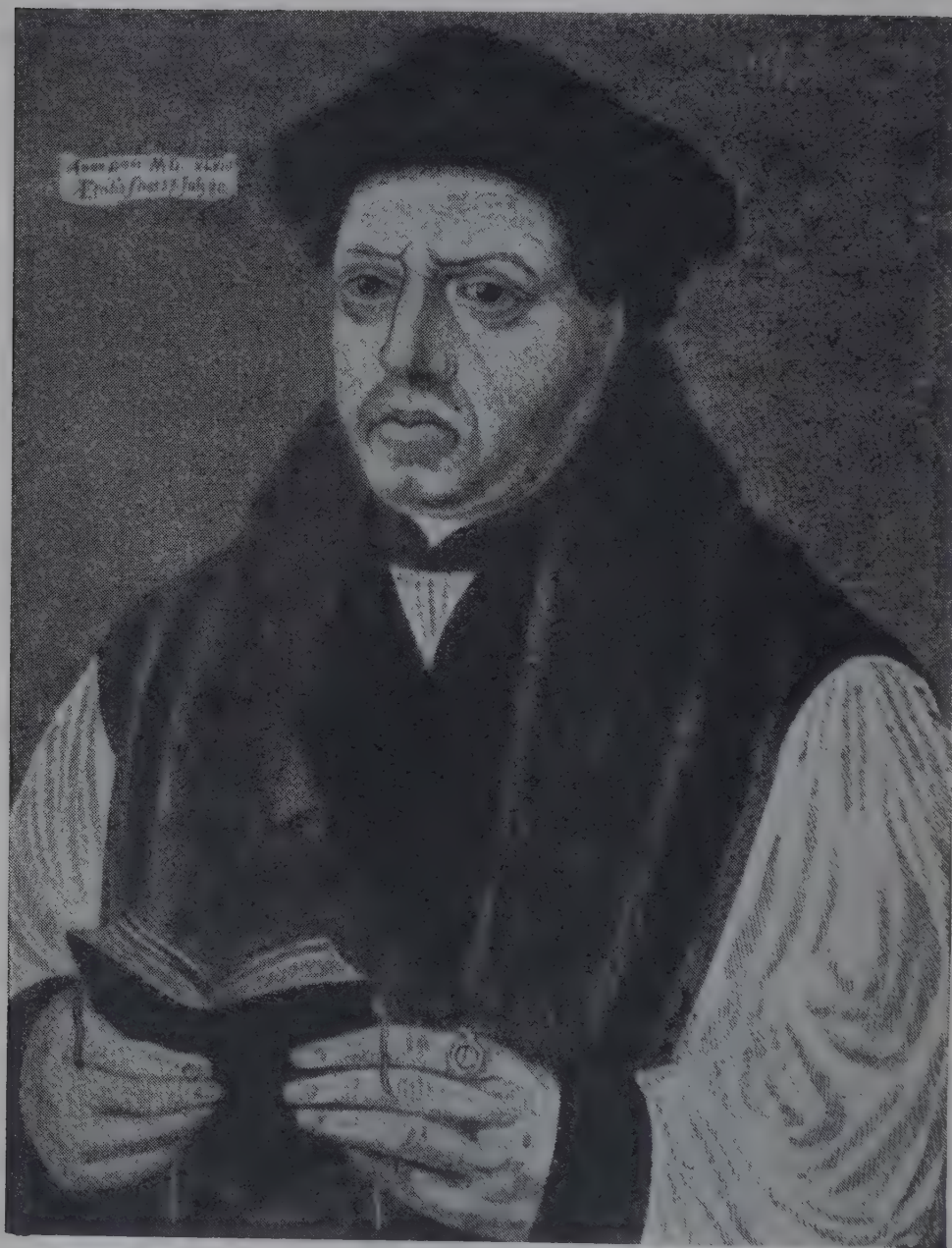
(1489—1556.)

WHILE Wolsey was carrying out his schemes for England's greatness on the Continent, while More was quietly exposing the evils at home in his 'Utopia,' there was living in Cambridge a scholar who was soon to fill a post of the utmost importance. This was Thomas Cranmer. He seems to have made no great name in the University, and it was by mere chance that he was called from his studies to be Archbishop of Canterbury during the most difficult time which the English Church has ever passed through. In 1528 the sweating sickness broke out in England, and Cranmer left Cambridge for a time to seek shelter in the house of a pupil at Waltham. Here he was introduced to two important officers of State—Dr. Gardiner, the King's Secretary, and Dr. Fox, Lord High Almoner. It was the time when Henry was moving heaven and earth to procure the divorce from Katharine. Most people were agreed that it could not be effected without the Pope's consent, by which alone a law of the Church might be broken. But Cranmer argued that marriages were made by a law of God, and that the Pope who had granted Henry permission to marry his brother's widow had no right to do so. He held that the marriage with Katharine was, therefore, not a true one, and the King was free to marry Anne Boleyn. He suggested that the opinion of the Universities

should be taken. His argument was repeated to Henry VIII. by Gardiner, and soon afterwards Cranmer was summoned to appear before the King. When Henry heard his opinion, he exclaimed bluntly that Cranmer 'had the right sow by the ear.' Cranmer was urged to take up the duties of leading counsel in the lawsuit, and the quiet student, probably with much reluctance, quitted the University for the King's Court. He became a royal chaplain, and was forced to write a treatise on the divorce, which was laid before the Universities and the House of Commons.

He was soon sent as an ambassador to the Papal Court, and, later, to Germany, to discuss the King's cause with the princes. Here he was brought into contact with the followers of Martin Luther, who had already denounced the Pope's power, and were trying to purify their Church of its superstitions and abuses. On Cranmer's return to England he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He found that the King had already married Anne Boleyn, on the plea that the canon lawyers and the Universities had pronounced his first marriage 'null and void.' There was little left for Cranmer to do but to record his judgment that the marriage with Katharine was invalid, and he was then entrusted with the painful duty of seeking Katharine to deliver his verdict before her.

Cranmer was distinctly one of those people who have their honours thrust on them. If it had not been for his visit to Waltham, he would probably have remained in obscurity at Cambridge, but, having been raised to the archbishopric, he had very decided views as to the nature of his duties to the nation. He was interested from the first in the reform of religion, and was determined to free the Church from the



THOMAS CRANMER.

*[Collection A. Rischgitz.]**(From the portrait in Jesus College, Cambridge.)*

control of the Pope. The Act of 1534, which called upon the clergy to 'renounce the Bishop of Rome,' and the Act of 1535, which made the King Supreme Head of

the Church of England, were both in accordance with Cranmer's views. He was also anxious to secure for the people an authorized version of the Scriptures in English. He believed this to be the only way of showing them how much was superstitious and legendary in their religion. In the fourteenth century Wyclif had translated the Scriptures from the Latin Vulgate into English, but this was before the days of printing, and comparatively few people had been able to obtain manuscript copies. In the sixteenth century, however, there were many others besides Cranmer who were determined 'to cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than the Pope.' William Tyndale had translated the Bible, and had it printed in Germany, but when it reached England many copies were suppressed. In 1535 another translation was brought out by Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and Cromwell, as Vicar-General, ordered copies to be set up in all the churches. Cranmer was active in seeing that the order was carried out. Two years later another version, partly taken from Tyndale's, partly from Coverdale's, was published, and in 1539 the Archbishop's interest in the movement was proved by the publication of the 'Great Bible,' or 'Cranmer's Bible,' with a long preface by Cranmer himself, and on the title-page an illustration representing the King in the act of handing the Word of God to his bishops. Thus Cranmer's name became closely associated with the English version of the Scriptures.

Cranmer seems to have had little to do with the dissolution of the monasteries, and as later in Edward VI.'s reign he opposed the Bill introduced to abolish chantries, it is not likely that he agreed with the way in which Cromwell did his work. But in 1541

further steps in Church reform were taken, and these were more after Cranmer's heart. It was ordered that images were to be removed from the churches, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments were to be taught in English, and all existing service-books were to be stripped of the legends which had crept into them in the Middle Ages. All these changes Henry tolerated, but he was unwilling that there should be any change in doctrine, and in 1539 the Act of Six Articles was passed forcing men to express their faith in many of the old beliefs. Cranmer strongly disagreed, and pleaded hard for freedom. He was not alone in his objections. Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, both resigned their sees. Latimer, whose name stands beside that of Cranmer among the bishops of the Reformation, had already been imprisoned for his outspoken attacks on the abuses of the Church and the clergy. He was absolutely fearless in his speech. He had accused the clergy of being thieves, rich men of seeking salvation by useless pilgrimages rather than by acts of mercy, and landlords of disregarding the interests of their tenants. He was later the leader of a movement known as 'the Commonwealth.' Its object was to proclaim far and wide the principle 'that it is not lawful for every man to use his own as him listeth, but every man must use that he hath to the most benefit of his country.' Latimer delighted in honouring common toil. In a famous sermon before King Edward he once declared: 'A preacher is a ploughman, a prelate is a ploughman, and hard work it is to break the clods and yet give no offence.' Latimer's plain speaking was not always received meekly by his congregation. There is an entry in the churchwarden's accounts of St. Margaret's,



HUGH LATIMER.

(From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.)

Westminster : ' 1s. 6d. paid for mending of divers pews that were broken when Dr. Latimer did preach.'

When the government fell into the hands of Somer-

set, Cranmer was more free to carry out his ideas of reform. He had stood as godfather to Edward VI., and crowned him when he became King. He and the Protector worked together in the reforms that were set on foot. A general visitation of the dioceses was carried out to see that all Churchmen recognised the headship of the King, and that the people were being instructed in the Scriptures in English, also to suppress the celebration of the service of the Mass in Latin. Meanwhile, a new Communion Book was being drawn up; processions were forbidden; and other old ceremonies were abolished. A book of sermons or homilies was printed, and clergymen were ordered to preach from it every Sunday. The work of destroying shrines and images, which had been begun under Cromwell, was carried on with greater energy. These changes could not take place without rousing opposition. Two great bishops, Gardiner and Bonner, were imprisoned for their resistance, and other clergy were deprived of their livings. Moreover, the destruction of familiar and sacred relics which were connected with the worship of their fathers brought home to the people the fact that their old faiths were being uprooted. It caused more disturbances than the change in the headship of the Church and the severance of the ties with Rome, for these acts had not made themselves felt immediately in everyday life. Many great works of art were destroyed, for the reformers believed that images and pictures were the cause of superstitions and mistaken worship. Cranmer longed for the worship of the English Church to be inward and spiritual, therefore he tried to make it as simple as possible, and to separate it from dependence on outward objects.

In some ways Cranmer was not in advance of his age. He was a persecutor, just as Henry VIII. had been, and as Queen Mary's bishops were soon to be. In 1549 he interviewed various heretics at Lambeth, and one of them, Joan Bocher, was sentenced to be burned. He was at the head of the Commission which deprived Bishops Gardiner and Bonner of their sees. These people all stood in the way of the reformation of the Church, and Cranmer believed it right to sacrifice them. From the two English Prayer-Books which were published in Edward VI.'s reign we gain some insight into the Archbishop's ideas of worship, and the way in which he tried to carry them out. The first English Prayer-Book of 1549 was by no means a new book. It was compiled mainly from the old Latin service-books, but translated into English. The services were condensed and reduced in number. All legends and long anthems were omitted, also prayers to the saints, and in the prayers and collects that were translated there was some alteration of language. Some new parts were also inserted by the Reformers. The second Prayer-Book, published in 1552, went much further in its reforms. Cranmer, in the interval, had been brought into close contact with some foreign reformers who were taking refuge in England, among them the German Martin Bucer, and the Italian Peter Martyr.

Cranmer was never on very good terms with Warwick, who became Regent, under the title of Duke of Northumberland, after Somerset's fall. Northumberland was the moving spirit of the plot to place his son's wife, Lady Jane Grey, upon the throne on Edward's death; Cranmer, together with twenty-three other counsellors, was persuaded to sign the document which Northumber-

land drew up. He had already sworn according to the terms of Henry's will to recognise Mary, and it was only after much resistance that his signature was obtained in obedience to the commands of the dying King. It must have been hard for Cranmer to resist, for Mary was devoted to the old forms of religion, and her succession meant the undoing of all his own work.

Many Protestants fled from England on hearing the news that Northumberland's plot had failed, and that Lady Jane Grey was a prisoner in the Tower. Others remained, intending to agree with whatever changes the new Queen might bring. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and many others stayed, with the determination of resisting bravely all attempts to return to the Roman Catholic form of worship.

Cranmer's conduct at this time is worthy of all praise and respect. He knew himself to be responsible for the course of the Reformation under Edward VI., and he knew that persecution must quickly overtake him. He not only waited for it, he courted it. Mary's accession brought great and immediate changes. Bonner was restored to his bishopric of London. Gardiner was released and made Lord Chancellor. All over the country those who had obeyed the late Government for fear, and those who looked for favour in the new Government, began to resort to the old forms of worship. Cranmer, on hearing that the Latin service of Mass had been restored at Canterbury, wrote an indignant letter to the Vice-Dean. Copies of his letter were soon spread all over London, and Cranmer himself was summoned before the Star Chamber and shortly committed to the Tower. He found Ridley there before him. Latimer entered as a prisoner five days later. The three Reformers were never to have their liberty again.

In 1553, the first year of the new reign, a Parliament was called which annulled all the laws concerning religion passed in the last reign, and in the next year Henry VIII.'s statutes against the Pope were repealed. The same year saw the marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, the champion of the Pope's cause in Europe, and the old forms of worship were restored all through the country. But before these changes had been completed the three friends in the Tower had little room left for hope. They were suddenly removed to the prison at Oxford, separated from each other, and prevented from reading any books. The object of their removal was to hold a formal disputation in which they were to be opposed to Royal Commissioners.

One day in April Cranmer was solemnly conducted by the Mayor to St. Mary's Church, where the commission appointed to examine him was already assembled. It was presided over by Dr. Weston, a cruel and determined supporter of the old faith. Three questions on his belief were put to Cranmer, and on his answers to these he knew well his chance of freedom, perhaps of life, depended. One relief was afforded: he was allowed time to study and books to consult. All through Saturday night and the following Sunday the old Archbishop pored anxiously over his work, striving to set forth his views faithfully and clearly. On the following Monday he was summoned to the Divinity Schools, where he replied ably to the questions put to him. His ability together with his touching meekness and self-command appealed to many of those present, and at the end of the proceedings one of the presiding officers could not forbear complimenting him in the words, 'Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good Dr. Cranmer, are worthy of much commendation.'

But Cranmer's defence was simply disregarded. On the next day three articles of belief were proposed to all the prisoners for their signature. They all three refused to sign. The influence of their decision on the people was feared, and when the officer of the court began to pronounce their sentence, Dr. Weston interrupted him, and made one last effort to persuade them. But they said, 'Read on, in the name of God read on.'

A long delay followed this meeting. Mary and her advisers hesitated to provoke possible rebellion by beginning to persecute. But Lady Jane Grey, her husband, father, and uncle had all been executed, and the Protestant party were left without a leader; hence Mary's advisers deemed there was little to fear. In February, 1555, the first storm of persecution burst. Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, was the first to be burned; the death of Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, occurred within a few days, and others followed; still, the prisoners at Oxford were spared. In September a ray of hope came to Cranmer. His case was cited to Rome, but this was a mere form. The Pope finally authorized his trial, and he was formally condemned in England.

Meanwhile, the end came for Cranmer's fellow-prisoners. They suffered death by burning outside Balliol College. They met death bravely, and lit, in Latimer's words, 'the candle which by God's grace was never to be put out.' Cranmer himself must have witnessed something of their agonies, and this shock, together with his recent hope of a respite, unnerved him. From his own confession, he always lacked that physical courage to endure pain which is a quality strangely apart from moral courage. Cranmer himself attributed his weakness to his early training and the treatment of 'a

marvellous severe and cruel schoolmaster, who dulled and daunted the tender and fine wits of his scholars.' He was, moreover, gifted with a mind highly sensitive and open to impression. His own views had developed rapidly under the influence of his foreign friends. Perhaps for the moment he was in real perplexity. He believed that the Sovereign was the Supreme Head of the Church. What if the Supreme Head chose to submit to another power—the Pope? It was a problem deep enough to stagger a cleverer man than Cranmer. In his doubt and fear Cranmer yielded, and consented to sign a recantation. He had already been solemnly degraded and stripped in public of his Archbishop's robes. At the ceremony the brutal mockeries of Bishop Bonner had roused indignation even among those who were not Cranmer's friends. Now there was a chance of escaping those tortures, which must have already touched the old man sharply in the death of his friends. He wrote a recantation. His enemies objected to its wording, and he rewrote it, but only to find that each of his recantations, to the number of six, met with the same objection. Cranmer must then have realized the hollowness of the game he was playing and the bitterness of his opponents, who never meant to spare his life. In March, 1556, a public service was arranged in St. Mary's Church, at which Cranmer was ordered to recant formally in public. A large congregation assembled, in spite of the 'foul and rainy day.' They had come in breathless uncertainty of what they were about to behold. Cranmer guessed that the sequel in any case was to be death. It must have been almost a relief. Before a crowded church he boldly repudiated his former submission, and reproached himself bitterly as 'a wretched caitiff and a miserable sinner.' He was

hardly allowed to finish, but was hustled down by his guard amidst threats and reproaches, and was conducted to the stake. As the fire sprang up around him he plunged his right hand first into the flames, because it had written the recantation which had not been



[*W. A. Mansell and Co.*

MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, OXFORD.

dictated by his conscience. The dread of suffering had once overpowered Cranmer; at the last he embraced torture and welcomed it, and by so doing won his victory.

A beautiful memorial monument, erected in 1841, not

far from the spot where the Oxford martyrs died, bears standing witness to the effect of their death upon the nation. The story of their sufferings was told abroad among people who were only just waking from the Middle Ages, with their passionate enthusiasm for all that was heroic and dramatic. Cranmer especially appealed to them with twofold force—as a martyr and a penitent; they yielded him the admiration due to the one, the sympathy due to the other. His death intensified the growing hatred of a Church which could cause such suffering, and a Queen who could allow such things to be.

*Extracts from Master Hugh Latimer's Sermon on the
Ploughers, January 18, 1549.*

(An attack on the 'unpreaching prelates'.)

'Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning.'—ROM. xv. 4.

'Preaching of the Gospel is one of God's plough works, and the preacher is one of God's ploughmen. . . . And well may the preacher and the ploughmen be likened together. First, for their labour of all seasons of the year. For there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do, as in my country in Leicestershire the ploughman hath a time to set forth and assay his plough, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and

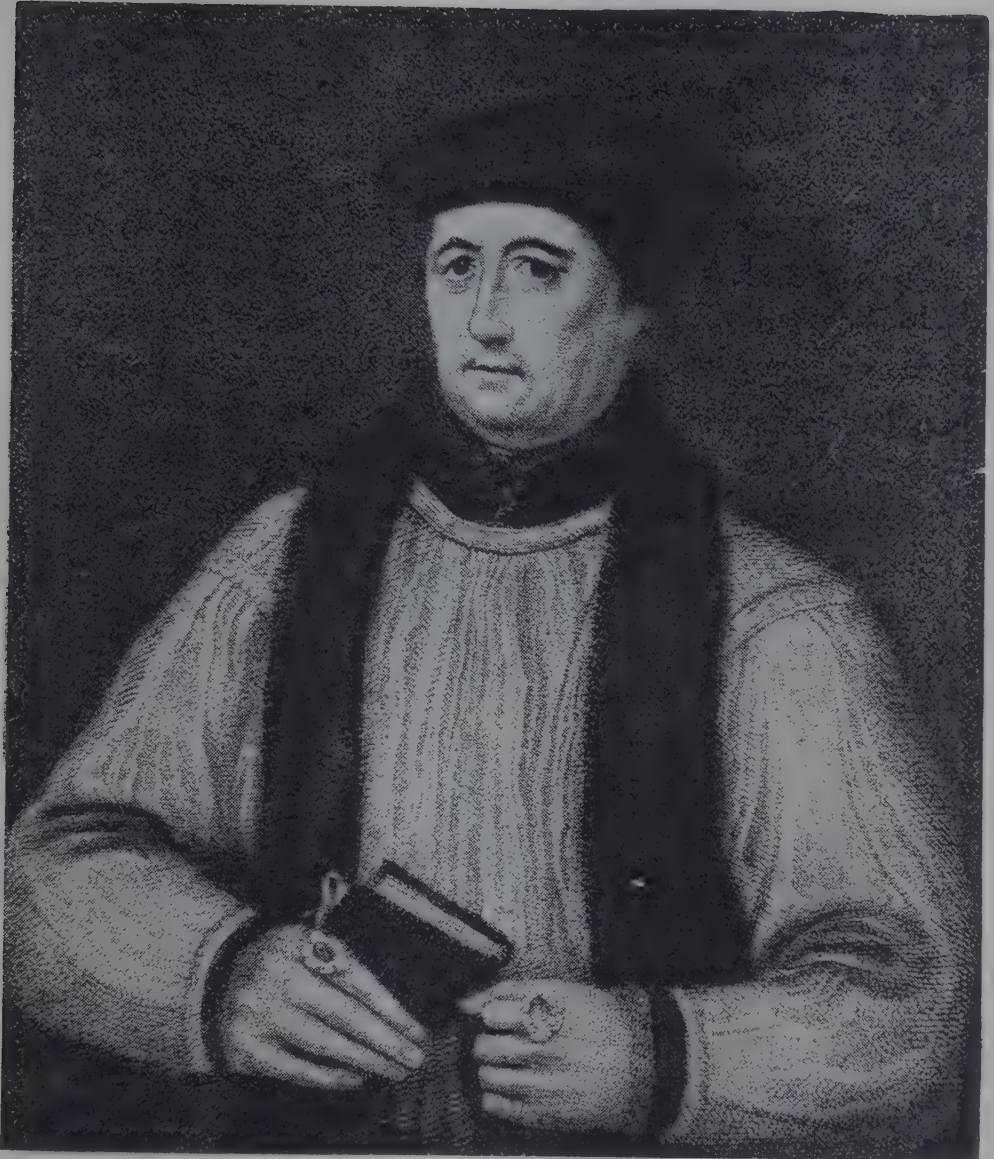
then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and some time ridgeth it up again, and at another time harroweth it, and clotteth it, and some time dungeth it, and hedgeth it, diggeth it, and weedeth it, purgeth it and maketh it clean, so the prelate, the preacher, hath many divers offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it . . . and then to confirm them in the same faith, now casting them down with the law, and with threatenings of God for sin ; now riding them up again with the Gospel and with the promises of God's favour ; now weeding them by telling them their faults and making them forsake sin ; now teaching them to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and to their neighbours. . . . They have great labours, and therefore they ought to have good livings, that they may commodiously feed their flock. For the preaching of the word of God unto the people is called meat ; Scripture calleth it meat. Not strawberries that come but once a year and tarry not long, but are soon gone, but it is meat. It is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continual and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year, but such do not the office of good prelates. . . . How many unlearned prelates have we now at this day ? And no marvel. For if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would clean give over ploughing : they would leave off their labour and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand. And then, both ploughs not walking, nothing should be in the common weal but hunger. For ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles the plough standeth, there is no work done, the people starve.

‘They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice, they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions, so that ploughing is set aside. And by the lording and loitering preaching and ploughing is clean gone. And thus, if the ploughmen of the country were as negligent in their office as prelates be, we should not long live for lack of sustenance.’

STEPHEN GARDINER.

(1483—1555.)

AMONG the Churchmen who looked with doubt and suspicion upon the changes which Cranmer introduced was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. He had first been employed by Wolsey; later he had been connected with the divorce suit, and had afterwards been rewarded by Henry VIII. with the See of Winchester. Gardiner's views on the settlement of the Church were very like those of the King. He agreed with Henry that the Pope's supremacy must be overthrown, and had boldly informed the Pope that 'he deserved to lose a country of which he respected not the freedom'; he believed in the destruction of shrines and images, in so far as it rooted out superstition, but he did not desire any change in doctrine or in forms of worship; he wished the Catholic system to be preserved, its abuses only swept away. In the latter years of Henry VIII.'s reign he took an active part in the condemnation of so-called traitors who would not acknowledge the King Supreme Head of the Church and of so-called heretics who could not agree with the Six Articles. Gardiner seems to have lost favour with Henry just before his death, perhaps owing to the influence of Hertford and Paget, whose views were widely different from his own. Paget in particular



[Collection A. Rischgitz.]

STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

(From an engraving of the portrait in Trinity Hall, Cambridge.)

was a great enemy of Gardiner; hence Gardiner had no place in the Government by Henry's will, and soon proved himself openly hostile to the Protector's proceedings. He protested fearlessly against the ruthless destruction of images, pictures, and windows, and wrote a letter of remonstrance to Somerset, in which he said 'the clergy were opening wide the gates of folly.' He spoke of the image-breakers as 'hogs, and worse than hogs,' and sneered at them as Lollards.

When, in 1547, the general visitation of the dioceses was ordered, Gardiner's opposition was still greater. He rightly objected to the Book of Homilies which was published, because in it there was no mention of the Sacraments; he objected to the injunctions of Edward VI., on which the visitors proceeded; and, above all, to receive the visitors into his diocese. He was soon imprisoned in the Fleet for 'speaking impertinent things of the King's Majesty's Visitations,' but from prison he made his voice heard no less loudly than before. Cranmer tried to quiet him by argument, and urged that all the realm had received the Homilies save himself. Gardiner replied drily: 'I think they have not read what I have read in them.' He was partly right. Many persons must have accepted the changes not from any heartfelt belief in their benefit, but simply because it was easier to obey than to disobey. Gardiner feared greatly any violent break with the past, and the sudden snapping of old traditions. He believed that all change must be very gradual; and he protested against changes in the character of the services and the doctrines which the clergy taught the people. He was kept in prison, complaining bitterly of the harshness employed to him, and urging that Cranmer used the same methods to persuade men as were used

at Rome, where, if men did not kneel as the Pope passed, they were knocked on the head with a halbert. Meanwhile, the visitation proceeded, and changes followed each other rapidly in the Church. At last, at the end of the session of Parliament, a general pardon was proclaimed, and the prisoner was released.

Gardiner was not long free. It was in this session of Parliament that the Act had been passed condemning 'chantries, hospitals, free chapels, fraternities, brotherhoods, and gilds,' and authorizing the use of their lands and money for other purposes. Certain exceptions were made; among them, 'any college, hostel or hall within either of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.' The chantries undoubtedly needed suppressing. It was a custom for dying men to bequeath money for the support of priests in connection with these establishments, whose only duty it was to perform masses for the souls of the dead. Men's feelings were often excited on their deathbeds to induce them to give money for this purpose. As the preamble to the Act stated, 'A great part of superstition and errors in Christian religion' had been brought about 'by devising and phantasing vain opinions of purgatory, and masses to be done for them which be departed.' But with the chantries fell the guilds. Some were religious, others were mere social guilds and fraternities, through which help was given to the poor in distress. The removal of their property was nothing short of robbery. The Act as it stood was much too sweeping, and it was over the carrying out of this Act that Gardiner again encountered the Protector's displeasure. Somerset demanded the surrender of a college in Cambridge; Gardiner resisted. A means of punishment was soon found. Certain articles were drawn up

against Gardiner, accusing him of countenancing the old forms of worship; and though he defended himself skilfully against all the charges, the authorities were not satisfied, and he was ordered to preach a sermon before the King expressing his disapproval of Catholic doctrine. Gardiner at first refused to preach, but on second thoughts consented, though he had no intention of submitting. He preached a fearless sermon on the service of the Mass, which condemned him to the Tower on the following day.

Here he remained for nearly a year, petitioning for his trial in vain. Meanwhile the new Prayer-Book was published, and visitors were sent to the Tower to test Gardiner's opinion of it. He haughtily refused to answer, saying he would not 'go to school in prison.' He refused to submit to the Lord Protector, claiming obedience only to 'the law.'

On the fall of the Protector Somerset, Gardiner made another bid for freedom. He wrote to the Council complaining that he had been in prison for a year 'with want of air, want of books, want of company, and want of a just cause why he should come hither at all.' But the Council, under Northumberland's direction, was not likely to be lenient towards a man of Gardiner's views. They laughed at his petition, and said he had 'a pleasant head.' When at last he was brought to trial, he was finally deprived, and sent back to the Tower till the end of the reign.

On Edward VI.'s death everything depended on his successor to the throne. It was well known that Northumberland destined his son's wife, Lady Jane Grey, a descendant of Henry VII. through his daughter Mary, to be Queen of England. Princess Mary had been invited to her brother's death-bed. She knew the

motives underlying the summons well enough to take refuge in Norfolk, where the family of the Howards was on her side. On her brother's death, town after



MARY TUDOR.

(From woodcut of picture by Antonio Moro in Prado, Madrid.)

town declared in her favour, and she was soon surrounded by a large army. Northumberland's plot signally failed.

Mary's accession meant Gardiner's freedom. He was restored to his see, and became Lord High Chancellor. From this time there was a distinct change in Gardiner's opinions, which was probably not due only to his desire to please the Sovereign who had rescued him from prison and possible death. Whatever his views on the Church services and doctrine had been, Gardiner had always upheld the King's position as Supreme Head of the Church; but now he spared no pains or energy to advocate a reunion with Rome. The change was a natural one. His long imprisonment had embittered him; he really feared the effect of Cranmer's reforms on the people; he had been intensely irritated by the visitation of his diocese. He began to think that the old order of things was preferable to the new, and that in separating from Rome Henry VIII. had made a great mistake. Moreover, he had reason at his back. It was contrary to any idea of the Church that a woman could be the 'Supreme Head.' Even if that were possible, the Supreme Head chose voluntarily to submit to Rome, and bade 'all true, loving, and obedient subjects' do likewise.

By November, 1554, England had returned to union with Rome, and had made full submission for ever having 'wandered and strayed abroad.' In a sermon before the Queen and her Spanish husband at St. Paul's Gardiner preached on the text, 'It is time to awake out of sleep.' He retracted his own former opinions, and proclaimed the Reformation to be an evil dream. The old heresy laws were revived and the era of persecution began.

In 1554 Sir Thomas Wyatt led a rebellion partly in opposition to the marriage of the Queen with Philip of Spain. The rebels aimed at placing Elizabeth upon

the throne. But the rebellion failed through bad leadership and treachery, and Gardiner was foremost in counselling the Queen to show no mercy.

In the religious persecutions, however, Gardiner was not the leading spirit. He did not live to see the death of his old rival, Archbishop Cranmer. In October, 1555, when Ridley and Latimer suffered for their faith, he was struggling against a fatal disease. In November he died of dropsy, and was buried with great ceremony at Winchester. Perhaps it would have been well for Gardiner if he had died in prison under Edward VI.; he would have left a very different name behind him. Under Mary he was identified with the persecution, and his memory has come to be associated with violence and bloodshed. To the Protestant party he was known as 'wily Winchester,' and Foxe described him bitterly as 'this viper's bird, crept out of the town of Bury in Suffolk.' But there is no more reason to doubt Gardiner's honesty than there is to doubt that of Cranmer. It was hard for men to know their own minds in the sixteenth century, and the changes that urged Cranmer on in his reforms drove Gardiner into reaction and opposition. The separation from Rome brought changes in its wake of which Gardiner had never dreamed; hence he worked with all his might to rectify what he considered to have been the great mistake of his life.

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY.

(1520—1598.)

THE life of Cecil is really the history of the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Froude has written of the great Queen that she was 'a woman and a man: she was herself and Cecil.' Cecil gave expression to all that was wisest and most statesmanlike in Elizabeth's character. He had the Queen's utmost confidence, and she allowed herself to be guided mainly by his opinion. When, on coming to the throne, she made him Secretary of State, she remarked, 'This judgment I have of you: that you will not be corrupted by any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State.' She never had occasion honestly to regret her trust, for Cecil kept his charge nobly, and for forty years it was his influence which controlled the policy of England.

Cecil was not inexperienced when called to office by Elizabeth. His father had been a man of wealth and high standing, who had served under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He lived at Burghley, near Stamford. Before his death he had risen to be High Sheriff of Rutland. William Cecil, the son, was educated at Cambridge. While there he married Mary Cheke, the sister of a famous Cambridge professor. On her death, he chose as his second wife Mildred Cooke, who was distinguished for her learning. Cecil held office in

Edward VI.'s reign, and was even employed by Mary, in spite of the fact that he remained a Protestant, declaring 'that he was a server of God first, and afterwards of the Queen.' But never had so difficult a task lain before him as when he was made Secretary of State by Elizabeth. The Queen was wise in her choice. Cecil was, perhaps, the only man living who was capable of guiding England through the troubles which surrounded her. In character he stands out in striking contrast to the many brilliant Englishmen to whom Elizabeth's reign owes much of its glory. He was not a man of extraordinary genius, nor a fascinating courtier, nor a spirited adventurer. But he was steady, cool-headed, far-sighted, described by a contemporary biographer as 'slow in resolving, but speedy to expedite good resolutions.' His detailed knowledge of public affairs was wonderful. He was, above all, a hard worker, and was 'ever more weary of a little idleness than of great labour.' The ill-health of his later years was attributed to his 'early rising and late watching.' At Cambridge he had been a student 'so diligent and painful as he lured the bellringer to call him up at four of the clock every morning.' His policy was one of extreme caution. He prized peace highly, for he realized that 'war is soon kindled, but peace very hardly procured.' For thirty years he warded off a war with Spain, for which he felt England was ill prepared. He never courted popularity, but he recognised the value of the nation's good opinion. 'I advise thee not to affect nor to neglect popularity too much,' he wrote as advice to his son. 'Seek not to be Essex; shun to be Raleigh.' In spite of this, the Queen's caprice, and her avowed preference for favourites such as Leicester and Essex, must often have been

bitter to the patient Secretary. Within the kingdom Cecil above all things desired unity, and was a staunch



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(From the *Ermine Portrait*, in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury, Hatfield.)

upholder of the royal will. He said, 'Without a head there could be no body, and if all were heads, there could be no bodies to set their heads upon.'

The first problem to be solved in England in 1558 was the Church question, and it was partly due to Cecil's influence that a peaceable settlement was arrived at. The second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was republished, but with certain omissions. By a new Act of Supremacy, the royal title Supreme Head of the Church was dropped, and, instead, the Queen was recognised as supreme governor of the realm, 'as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things as temporal.' True, the main body of bishops and many clergy refused to agree to this settlement. There were, moreover, always the Roman Catholic party, who would be satisfied with nothing short of reunion with Rome, and the extreme Protestants, who objected to Church government by bishops, and who tended to split up into sects; but the mass of the people had what they wanted—a Church governed by bishops with whose services they were familiar, and independence of the Pope.

Cecil began at once to try to secure peace. A treaty was concluded with France, but this was not lasting. From 1562 to 1564 the English interfered to help the French Protestants in their war against the Catholics. After the Protestants had been defeated at Dreux, in 1564 terms of peace were drawn up between England and France, by which Calais, which had been lost in 1557, was definitely abandoned. In Scotland Cecil played a prominent part in drawing up the Peace of Edinburgh in 1560, by which the young Sovereigns Francis and Mary resigned their pretensions to the crown of England. But the relations between the royal cousins, Elizabeth and Mary, were never easy to settle, and afterwards Cecil wrote wearily concerning the peace: 'I have had such a torment with the



WILLIAM CECIL, FIRST BARON BURGHLEY.

(From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.)

Queen's Majesty as an ague hath not in five fits so much abated me.'

Elizabeth's capricious character vexed Cecil sorely

in another way. The choice of a husband for the Queen was, naturally, a great subject of debate among the people and in Parliament. Elizabeth, while hotly resenting any mention of her marriage, was constantly perplexing her advisers by entertaining various proposals. Philip of Spain had insolently proposed himself, and had been rejected, but shortly afterwards Elizabeth lent an ear to the suit of his kinsman, the Archduke Charles of Austria. At the same time she was carrying on a long and desperate flirtation with Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. Cecil himself favoured an alliance with Arran, son of the late Regent of Scotland. He hoped by this to eventually unite Scotland to England. His hopes failed, and Cecil wrote bitterly, 'Here is a great resort of wooers and controversy among lovers. Would to God the Queen had one, and the rest honourably satisfied!' But Elizabeth probably agreed with the Scotch Ambassador Melville, who once assured her, 'I think, if ye were married, ye would be but Queen of England, and now ye are King and Queen both.' Meanwhile, though frequently scorned and slighted, Cecil retained the Queen's confidence. At this time, also, the people at large trusted him, and looked to him for redress of grievances. In 1561 the Queen appointed him Master of the Court of Wards, and he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. In 1563 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. During the next year Elizabeth paid her celebrated visit to Cambridge, Cecil supervising all the arrangements. It was a brilliant success. The students were charmed with the Queen's graciousness, and with her carefully-prepared speech in the Latin tongue. Both town and gown recognised Cecil's services by characteristic

compliments. The town presented him with some 'artfully contrived confectionery,' the University with the M.A. degree.

More stormy times were coming. In 1568 the struggle between the Catholic and Protestant parties in Scotland reached a head, and resulted in the defeat of Queen Mary and her flight to England. Her presence there as half guest, half prisoner made Cecil's task of preserving peace doubly difficult. As plots and intrigues increased, he was obliged to surround himself with a body of spies, who informed him of the doings of suspected persons. It was necessary, but it made the Secretary intensely unpopular, the more especially as torture was sometimes resorted to as a means of examination. Cecil's vigilance repeatedly frustrated plots against the throne. The Northern Rebellion of 1569, which aimed at the marriage of Mary to the Duke of Norfolk and the overthrow of Cecil himself, was known to him before its outbreak. The heavy penalties which followed did not tend to increase Cecil's popularity. He knew every movement of the Papal Court, and was prepared for Pope Pius V.'s Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, published in 1570. The Ridolfi plot in 1571 was in the same way discovered by Cecil's army of spies. At the time Elizabeth was contemplating a marriage with the Duke of Anjou, later Henry III. of France, and the friend of the French Huguenots. Ridolfi was an Italian banker, the agent of Pius V., who was employed to stir up a rising in England in favour of Norfolk's marriage with Mary. The Duke of Alva was to give assistance from the Netherlands. It was therefore a blow aimed at Protestantism in Europe. Cecil intercepted letters passing between the Bishop of Ross and the Netherlanders, and

the whole affair was frustrated. The failure of the plot doomed Norfolk to death. In the same year took place the terrible massacre of the Protestants in France on St. Bartholomew's Day, which called out all Cecil's horror and indignation. But peace with Spain depended on the maintenance of friendly relations with France, and Cecil could not afford to respond to the terrible outrage as he wished.

From 1572 to 1585 Elizabeth was more or less seriously considering a marriage with the Duke of Alençon, the youngest brother of Charles IX., King of France. It suited her to defer her plans indefinitely, for it enabled her to put off the Protestant Netherlanders, who were imploring her help against the tyrannical Philip of Spain. The prospect of the marriage was viewed with the utmost dislike in England, but all public opinion on the subject was almost savagely suppressed. Alençon's patience was strained to the utmost, but his relations with Elizabeth were only definitely broken with his death in 1585.

Cecil's task had never been more difficult than during these years which preceded the great crisis. He had to keep the nation in a good temper and prevent the spread of Catholic plots, to keep in check the presumption of the Queen's favourites and the rash exploits of adventurers such as Drake and Raleigh which threatened war with Spain; to write vague conciliatory letters to France, Spain, and the Netherlands; to dally with Alençon; and, above all, to bear with the caprices of his royal mistress. In 1571 he had been created Baron Burghley, and in 1572 Lord High Treasurer. But titles and offices could not compensate for the difficulties of his position and the scorn to which he was subjected from favourites and ambassadors. Cecil

bore the brunt of everything and toiled on manfully, with little or no thanks. Spain had begun to intrigue with both Ireland and Scotland. Romanist plotters stirred up the Desmond rebellion, which blazed out in 1579. In the same year a secret agent, Esmé Stuart, was commissioned to bring Scotland back to its allegiance to the Pope. He won his way into King James's favour, and was created Duke of Lennox. Happily for Elizabeth, the Scottish Protestant lords themselves rose, and Lennox fled. Meanwhile, England was flooded with agents of Spain and of the Pope. In 1580 Parsons and Campion, the leaders of the first Jesuit mission to England, arrived. They were pledged to make as many conversions as possible among Elizabeth's subjects. In the same year Philip of Spain took possession of Portugal, and a great Catholic plot was set on foot for the murder of Elizabeth; Philip in Spain and the Duke of Guise in France were the leaders, but Cecil, with his usual vigilance, detected the plot. A certain Francis Throgmorton, one of the conspirators, was seized and confessed under torture that the Jesuit Parsons and another agent of the Pope, Allen, were to murder Elizabeth, and that the Duke of Guise was preparing to invade England.

In 1584 the Prince of Orange, the leader of the Protestants in the Netherlands, was murdered, and at last even the peace-loving Cecil saw that war could be postponed no longer. Elizabeth sent help to the Netherlands. In 1586 the disclosure of another plot in England, the Babington conspiracy to set Mary Queen of Scots upon the throne, led Cecil to the determination that the Stuart Queen must die. Elizabeth gave a reluctant consent to her cousin's death, and when it was over drove Cecil with reproaches from her



[Photograph Co., Ltd.]

HATFIELD HOUSE, BELONGING TO THE CECIL FAMILY.

presence. It was the one occasion on which she seems genuinely to have regretted Cecil's action.

Mary's execution was the last of the long chain of causes which brought about war. When in 1588 Philip prepared to avenge her death by the Great Armada, Cecil was entrusted with the duty of providing for the defence of England. He has been accused of a niggardliness in equipping the fleet, which might have made events go hardly with the English. Cecil would never have made a great War-Minister; a man was needed who, like the great Chatham nearly two hundred years later, might justly be accused of 'breaking windows with guineas.' He deserves little credit for the actual victory, but it brought him peace again; and in the last years of his life he was able to carry on his schemes undisturbed, confident in the loyalty of the people at home and the growing respect of nations abroad. He clung to his peace policy to the last. In 1598, when a debate arose in the Council on the question of war or peace with Spain, and Essex, Raleigh, and others urged war, Cecil quietly drew from his pocket a Prayer-Book, and, turning to Essex, pointed to the words, 'Men of blood shall not live out half their days.' The old statesman's own days had nearly run out; in the same year he died. He was succeeded in much of his public business by his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury.

To Cecil's untiring labours, vigilance, and foresight Elizabethan England owed much of the glory connected with other names. A pleasant picture has been left of him in his private life. He was a devoted father and a faithful friend. He delighted in building and planning houses and gardens. He entertained the Queen twelve times in all at his houses at Theobalds

and Wimbledon, but his favourite seat was the famous palace at Burghley. At home his way of life was simple. 'If he could get his table set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom.' In nature he was retiring, in habits temperate, and his biographer, who lived in the house with him, never saw him 'half an hour idle in four-and-twenty years together.'

This was the man to whom Elizabeth entrusted the affairs of her kingdom, and even when reproaching him in private and scorning him in public, she recognised his high value. She said 'that her comfort had been in her people's happiness, and their happiness in his discretion.'

POEM WRITTEN IN PRAISE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH
AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE ARMADA.

*'A proper new ballad wherein is plain to be seen how God
blesseth England for love of a Queen.'*

London, London, sing and praise thy Lord !

Let England's joy be seen !

True subjects, quickly show with one accord

Your love unto your Queen,

Elizabeth so brave,

Whose virtues rare beseeem her well.

From all the world she bears the bell ;

Her due deserts no tongue can tell ;

Her self she doth behave,

That all the world doth marvel much

How Nature should frame any such ;

Of vice, none living can her touch.

For justice just, for grace and pity both,
 No realm hath had her like ;
 She pardons them full oft, yet would be loth
 To hold if they durst strike :
 Elizabeth, Lord save.
 She is the jewel makes us glad ;
 A greater good cannot be had.
 Whilst we have her who can be sad ?
 Elizabeth so brave
 Doth never tread from Virtue's trace,
 Her heart and mind are full of grace,
 From pity she turns not her face.



ARMS OF ELIZABETH.

The Spanish spite which made the Papist boast
 Hath done them little good ;
 God dealt with them as with King Pharaoh's host,
 Who were drowned in the flood,
 Elizabeth to save.
 The Lord Himself with stretched arm
 Did quell their rage that sought our harm,
 Their threatening breaths the Lord did charm.

Elizabeth so brave
The Lord did quite from tyrant sway,
And traitors lost their hopéd day.
Grant all her foes, Lord, like decay!

God for her cause doth clothe the ground with
store

Of plenty and increase ;
Our barns are full, our barques can bear no more,
And blessed we are with peace.

Elizabeth most brave,
For thee doth England feel all this ;
We nothing want that needful is ;
This jewel England cannot miss ;

Elizabeth, Lord save !
That England may be happy still,
Confound all those that would her ill,
So laud Thy name the faithful will.

ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

(1532—1588.)

CECIL brought out everything that was manly and statesmanlike in Elizabeth. Her celebrated favourite, Robert Dudley, on the other hand, appealed to all her passions and fancies as a woman. He was a son of the Duke of Northumberland, who had perished in Mary's reign for stirring up the plot to place his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, upon the throne. Lord Robert had himself been imprisoned at the time, but was released, and afterwards took part in the campaign against France. From the time of Elizabeth's accession to the throne he became prime favourite at Court. The two had known each other as boy and girl, and Elizabeth had always admired Dudley's handsome person and lordly manner. He was not a man of intellect nor of fine character, but he was a patron of letters and a courtier of the type which the Queen adored—princely in his tastes, extravagant and magnificent in his habits, adroit in his flattery, bestowing upon his royal mistress that homage in which her soul delighted.

Elizabeth and Dudley were soon upon such close terms of intimacy that statesmen began to discuss the probability of their marriage. Of all her many suitors the Queen undoubtedly preferred Dudley personally, and it was only her fear of rousing possible insurrection

among jealous nobles which made her hesitate to marry him. One great obstacle stood in the way. In 1550 Dudley had married Amy, the daughter of Sir John Robsart of Norfolk, the lady whose sad fate the famous ballad of 'Cumnor Hall' and Sir Walter Scott's



EARL OF LEICESTER.

(From the painting by Zuccaro in the Nat. Port. Gall., London.)

'Kenilworth' have made famous. The version they give can scarcely be a true one. According to this account Dudley deliberately planned his wife's death in order to smooth the way for a marriage which should make him King of England, but the only facts that are known do not corroborate this. From the time of

Elizabeth's accession Dudley was much at Court; his wife was not. Amy seems to have been neglected by her husband, and spent her time in visiting friends or in a solitary country life. In September, 1560, she was staying at Cumnor Place, near Oxford, a house of her husband's, rented by his friend and steward, Anthony Forster. On a certain day she dismissed the greater part of her household to visit Abingdon Fair, and on her servants' return they found their mistress lying dead at the foot of a steep staircase. Busy tongues immediately attributed Amy's death to her husband. But Dudley, unscrupulous though he was, would scarcely have chosen so bold a way of ridding himself of his wife, for he valued public opinion. As it was, his enemies made the most of the story, and many people firmly believed in his guilt. Though the jury found a verdict of death from mischance, the chaplain who preached the unhappy lady's funeral sermon could not restrain himself from referring to her as 'pitifully slain.'

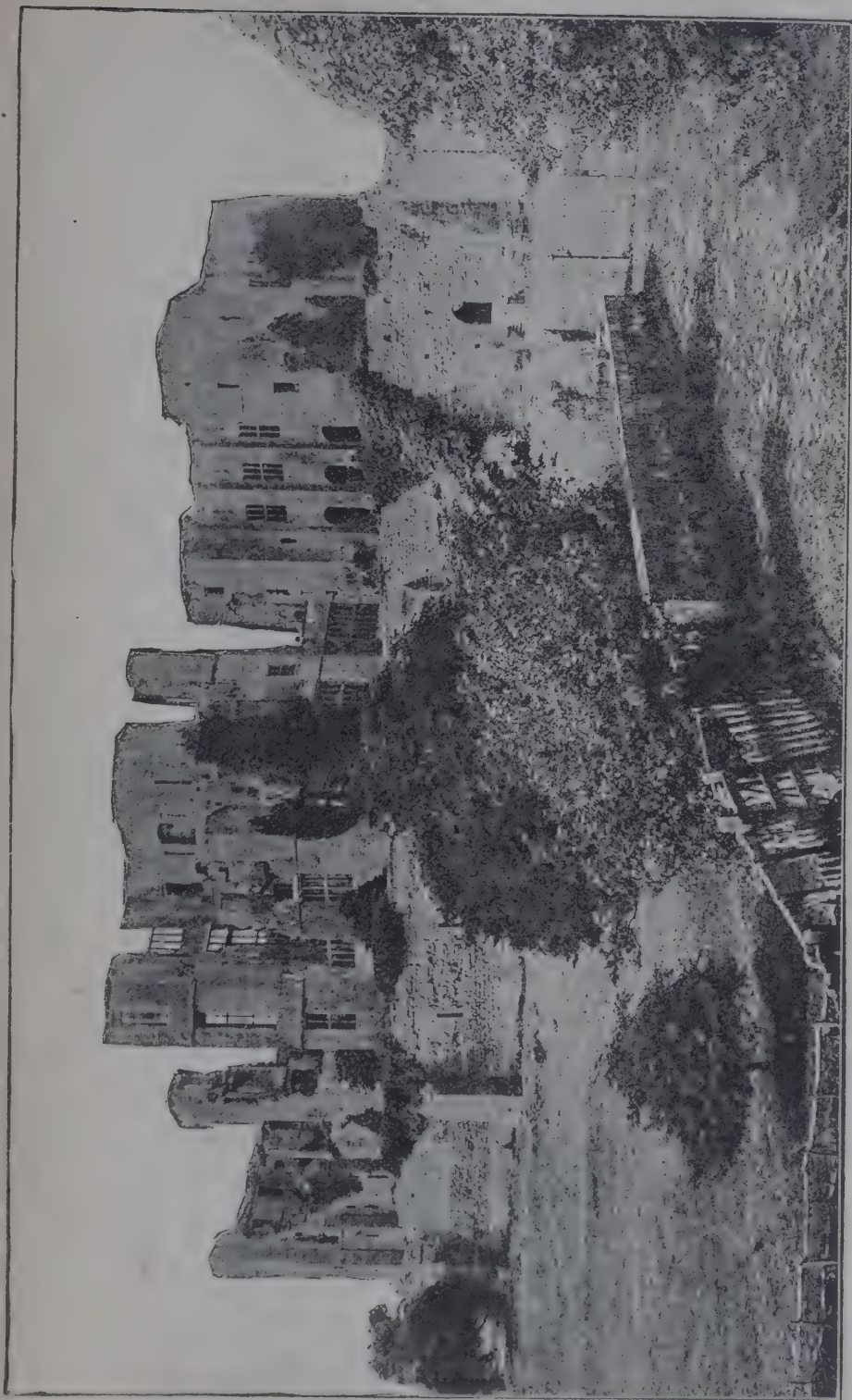
In the end his wife's death did not injure Dudley. After a moment's coldness the Queen restored him to favour, and flirted with him more desperately than before. Cecil deplored it, nobles of higher rank were furious. Dudley himself undoubtedly hoped for success, and intrigued with various parties to obtain it. He made private arrangements with the Spanish Ambassador on the one hand, with the French Protestants on the other. But before many years had passed Elizabeth realized that such a match was impossible. Dudley's own presumption partly warned her. His haughty tone offended other courtiers. Once when he threatened to dismiss a gentleman of her household, Elizabeth exclaimed in a fit of passion, 'I will have here but one mistress, and no master!' With all

her follies as a woman, she was seldom foolish as a Queen. She loved Dudley as a companion, but saw he was no statesman. She kept Cecil for the council chamber, Dudley for the banquet hall. To the one she gave her mind, to the other her heart. In spite of her real affection for Dudley, she was obliged to listen to the proposal that he should marry her rival Mary Queen of Scots. In 1564, while Melville, the Scotch Ambassador, was staying in England, the match was solemnly discussed. Elizabeth told Melville that she esteemed Dudley as 'her brother and best friend,' but she refused to give up his portrait to the rival Queen. Dudley was created Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh, and Melville tells how at the ceremony the Queen, in helping to equip the new-made Earl, 'could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck to kittle him smilingly.' She can scarcely have grieved when Mary chose Darnley.

Meanwhile honours and posts of wealth were heaped upon Leicester until the other nobles, notably the Duke of Norfolk, became bitterly jealous. Cecil mistrusted him as an unwise counsellor upon whom the Queen looked with favour. Leicester, on his part, was ever ready to stir up slanders against Cecil, for it mortified him to realize that, while the Queen was always willing to trifle with him, yet Cecil 'could do more with her in an hour than others in seven years.' When his marriage with the Queen seemed improbable, in 1573 he secretly married the daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, but he never acknowledged the connection in public, for Elizabeth, with all her love, was intensely jealous, and could treat her favourite upon occasion to all the scorn and spite of which she was capable.

In 1575 Elizabeth paid her famous visit to Kenilworth Castle, the revels at which have been so vividly described by Sir Walter Scott. One full report written by an eye-witness, Sir Robert Laneham, Clerk to the Council, tells of the wonderful doings in honour of the Queen. Kenilworth, beautiful by nature, 'in air sweet and wholesome, raised on an easy mounted hill,' with its 'tenants and town about it that pleasantly shifts from dale to hill,' must have been converted into a veritable fairyland. No expense was spared in the preparation of the pageantry that was to greet the Queen on her arrival. She was met by fair sibyls, one of whom recited a poem in her honour. At the gate a mighty porter yielded up to her his club and keys of office; trumpeters came forth to herald her approach. From the lake rose a marvellous water-nymph on a floating island 'bright blazing with torches.' The bridge across the moat was made lively by dainty birds in cages, the gifts of Silvanus, the god of fowl. There were bowls bearing fruit, boughs from the goddess Pomona, grapes from Bacchus, corn from Ceres, while Neptune presented fresh fish strewn on grass. The branches were hung with musical instruments from Apollo, the god of music.

The whole visit was one long round of feasting and pageantry, varied by the excitements of the chase and 'the pleasant passing of the time with music and dancing.' Bear-baiting and the feats of acrobats formed part of the programme by day; by night 'fireworks were compelled by cunning to fly to and fro,' these being 'intermingled with a great peal of guns.' Leicester, moving about in the rich attire of an Elizabethan nobleman, was the devoted slave of his royal guest and master of all these revels. All thoughts of



[Photochrom Co., Ltd.]

KENILWORTH CASTLE.

business and politics were set aside. There might have been no Pope threatening the Queen with Bulls from Rome, no malcontents at home, no troubles in Scotland, no Philip of Spain! The England of Elizabeth was a pleasure-loving country, free from Roman Catholic persecutions, free as yet from the stern gloom of the Puritans. But abroad the massacre of St. Bartholomew had not been forgotten in France, and Philip of Spain was finding his joy in such ghastly spectacles as the *auto da fé*.*

The princely revels at Kenilworth failed to bring Leicester the hand of his royal mistress. A few years later, in 1578, his second wife being dead, he brought Elizabeth's displeasure upon him by marrying Lettice Knollys, the widowed Countess of Essex, but as usual the Queen could not for long be angry with her favourite, and in the years of crisis which followed, when Elizabeth's death became the object of a series of plots against the throne, Leicester busied himself with measures for her protection. He was soon called to more active work. On the murder of William, Prince of Orange, the leader of the Protestants in the Netherlands, Elizabeth could no longer refuse to interfere to save the Dutch from the cruelty of their King, Philip of Spain. In 1584 English troops were despatched to the Netherlands under the command of Norris. The next year Leicester was sent out with further aid, as Lieutenant-General of the army in the Netherlands. The Dutch hailed their deliverers with enthusiasm. Everywhere Leicester was greeted with extravagant joy and gratitude. In January, 1586, he was formally proclaimed Governor of the United Provinces. It was, however, no part of Elizabeth's policy to allow a sub-

* The burning of the heretics at the stake.

ject to bear so important a title. Her indignation knew no bounds. Leicester was forced to apologize humbly, and it was only through the urgent advice of Cecil and Walsingham, who feared to disturb affairs in the Netherlands, that the Queen allowed him to retain his title. Moreover, his arrogance soon estranged all parties. He quarrelled with Norris, and complained bitterly of his troops, whom he had not the power to attach to his person or inspire with enthusiasm. He offended the Dutch, whom he treated with contempt and called 'churls and tinkers.' As a General he was no match for the Spanish leader, the Prince of Parma.

The campaign was not a success. Westphalia was captured, and Grave, the key to the northern provinces, relieved, but shortly afterwards Grave opened its gates to Parma after a famous assault. Prince Maurice, the son of the murdered Orange, and Sir Philip Sidney seized Axel, but Parma himself besieged and captured Huys. Leicester in person was able to relieve Berck and capture some fortresses near Zutphen, then marched on to the siege of Zutphen. It was in the desperate battle fought to prevent Parma from entering the town that Sidney fell. The whole campaign was indecisive, and Leicester did not return home covered with glory as he had hoped. In the next year he was charged with the ignominious task of telling the Dutch that they must make terms with Spain. Leicester's letters from the Netherlands, while they contain many expressions of energy and are interesting from the vivid power of description of the writer, reveal something of the bitter personal feeling and the impatience with both Dutch and English which went far to spoil the campaign. But it is only fair to add that the post was a difficult one. Neither Cecil nor Elizabeth was open-handed in

war-time, and, as Leicester wrote, affairs in Holland 'stood upon tickle terms.' In one letter he describes himself as 'a man without money, countenance, or any other sufficient means, in case broken and tottering in every way.' In spite of his failure, however, Leicester was well received by the Queen, and was deeply mourned by her when he died in 1588. He was the one man for whom Elizabeth had a genuine and steady affection. The story ran that he died by drinking poison prepared for his wife, but this was probably a libel.

Leicester was ambitious, unscrupulous, haughty, but during his life and after his death his character was unduly blackened by his enemies. In 1584 'Leicester's Commonwealth' was published. It was a libel on the great favourite, which took the form of an imaginary conversation between a gentleman, a lawyer, and a scholar, who all contribute to paint Leicester in the darkest colours. They accuse him not only of the death of Amy Robsart, but also of many other murders. They lament the fact that no one has access to the Queen except through him; no suit can reach her, no preferment be offered, 'so that the State has been aptly termed "Leicester's Commonwealth."' They call him 'the subject without subjection,' and even accuse him of intriguing with the Irish rebels, and hating the Queen herself because of her refusal to marry him. It is easy to see how Elizabeth's favouritism was mainly responsible for these libels, and that their influence has left Leicester with an unenviable reputation among later generations. But the verdict of history upon the question of his guilt can only be 'Non-proven.'

Passages from Harrison's 'Description of England' (written 1577-87), Chap. VIII., 'Of our Apparel and Attire,' giving some account of the vanity and extravagance of the upper classes.

'Oh, how much cost is bestowed nowadays upon our bodies, and how little upon our souls! How many suits of apparel hath the one, and how little furniture hath the other! How long time is asked in decking up of the first, and how little space left wherein to feed the latter! How curious, how nice also, are a number of men and women, and how hardly can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies! How many times must it be sent back again to him that made it! What chafing, what fretting, what reproachful language, doth the poor workman bear away! And how many times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home again it is very fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seams of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puff, then we blow, and finally sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well upon us. I will say nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like a woman's locks, many times cut off, above or under the ears, round as by a wooden dish. Neither will I meddle with our variety of beards, of which some are shaven from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of Marquess Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, others with a *pique de vant* (O! fine fashion!), or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being grown to be so cunning in this behalf as the tailors. And therefore if a man have a lean and

straight face, a Marquess Otto's cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter-like, a long slender beard will make it seem the narrower; if he be weasel-becked, then much hair left on the cheeks will make the owner look big like a bowdled hen, and as grim as a goose, if Cornelis say true. Many old men do wear no beards at all. Some lusty courtiers also and gentlemen of courage do wear either rings of gold, stones, or pearl in their ears, whereby they imagine the workmanship of God not to be a little amended. . . . In women also it is most to be lamented that they do now far exceed the lightness of our men (who nevertheless are transformed from the cap even to the very shoe). . . . What should I say of their doublets with pendant codpieces on the breast, full of jags and cuts, and sleeves of sundry colours? . . . Their fardingals, and diversely coloured nether stocks of silk, jerdsey, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? . . .

‘Certes the Commonwealth cannot be said to flourish where these abuses reign, but is rather oppressed by unreasonable exactions made upon rich farmers and of poor tenants wherewith to maintain the same. Neither was it ever merrier with England than when an Englishman was known abroad by his own cloth, and contented himself at home with his fine corsey hosen and a mean slop; his coat, gown, and cloak of brown, blue, or puke, with some pretty furniture of velvet or fur, and a doublet of sad tawney, or black velvet, or other comely silk, without such cuts and garish colours as are worn in these days. . . . Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attire, and therefore are most to be commended.’

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MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS...

Date,

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(1542—1587.)

WHILE Mary Tudor lay dying in England, her cousin, the beautiful young Queen of Scotland, was celebrating her marriage with the Dauphin in France. She was not yet sixteen, but she must have already known something of the difficulties which were about to beset her. She was the daughter of James V. and Mary of Guise. Her father had died soon after her birth, and her mother was struggling against the Protestant party in Scotland. The bitterness of the rival parties had been increased by the war with England, which followed the failure of the Scots to keep their promise of betrothing their little Queen to Edward VI.

During her girlhood Mary had been brought up in a French convent ; she was now marrying a French husband. All her sympathies and interests were given to France, and her childish recollections of her own country must have been stormy in the extreme. The French marriage was popular neither in Scotland nor England. The Scotch Protestants detested the French influence. In 1557 they had formed themselves into the Congregation of the Lord, and signed the National Covenant undertaking to abolish Catholic doctrines and forms of worship. The Queen's marriage could only make the Catholic influence in Scotland stronger.



Votre tres humble & tres obeissante fille

MARIE

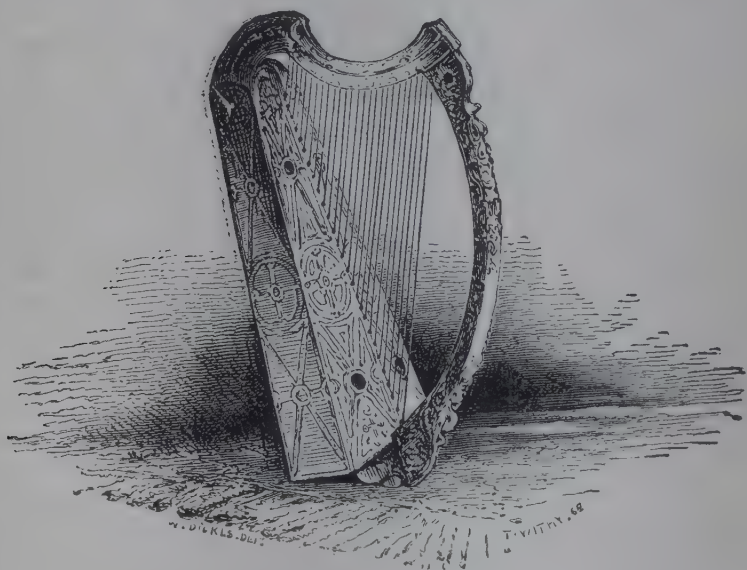
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(From a portrait by Clouet in the Hermitage Gallery, St. Petersburg.)

The danger with which the marriage threatened England became clear when, on the death of Mary Tudor in 1558, Francis and Mary assumed the title and arms of the sovereigns of England. Soon afterwards the death of Henry II. made them in reality King and Queen of France. Undoubtedly Mary stood next in the succession to Elizabeth. The more extreme Catholic party even questioned Elizabeth's title. What if the French kings, through Scotland, should become the masters of England? It was obviously to the interests of the English to ally with the Scotch Protestants. Mary of Guise was obliged to take refuge in Edinburgh Castle in spite of French help. Meanwhile the allies besieged Leith, and a proposal was even brought forward for Elizabeth to marry Arran, the son of the late Regent of Scotland.

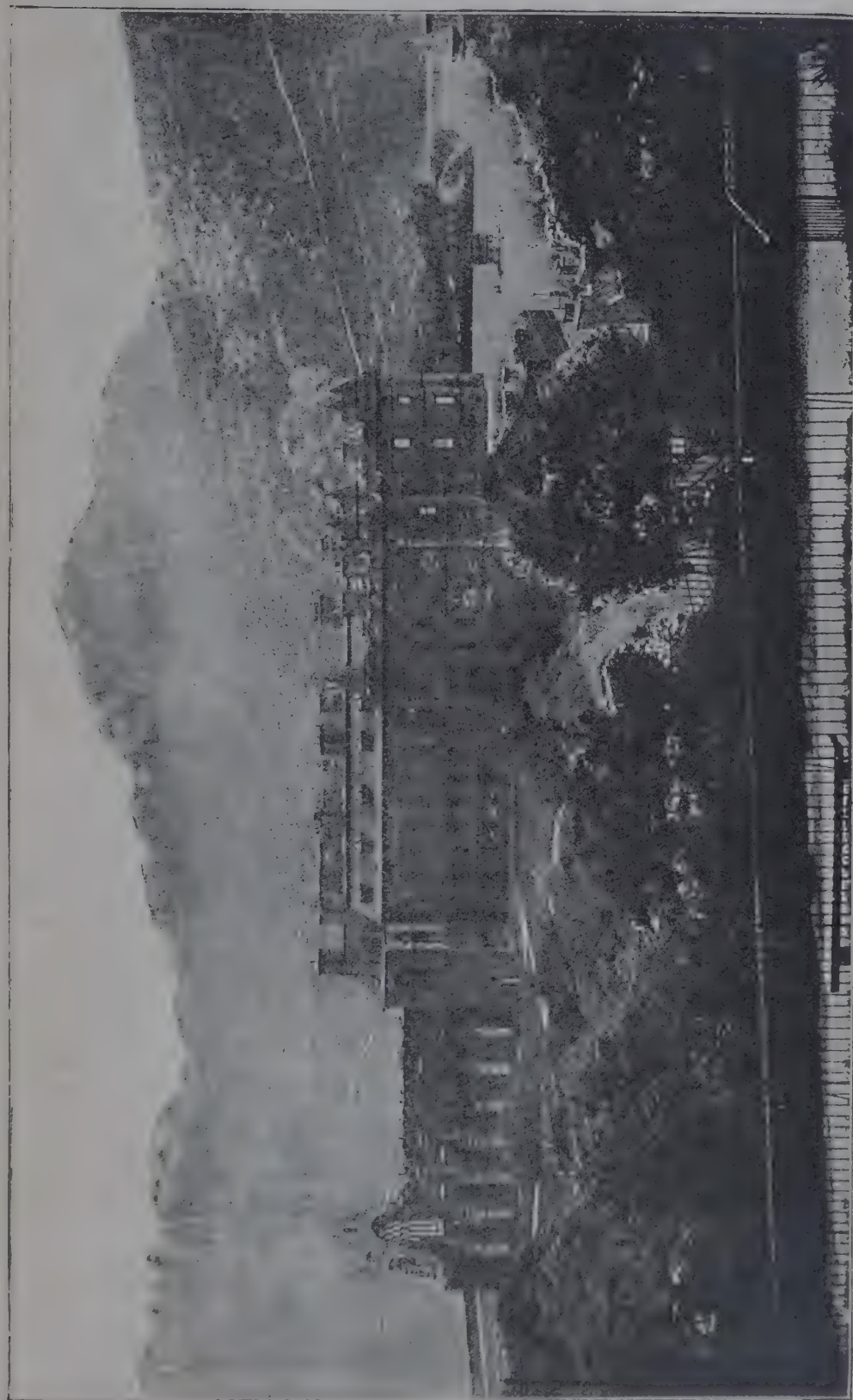
Neither English nor Scotch need have been afraid. In 1560 Mary of Guise died, and the Treaty of Edinburgh was drawn up, by which Francis and Mary were pledged to give up the title and arms of the sovereigns of England. A few months later came the death of Francis II., who left 'as heavy and dolorous a wife as of right she had good cause to be,' a beautiful but friendless Queen, destined to rule over a country to which she was almost a stranger and over a people whose religion was the opposite of her own. She had little expectation of help or sympathy from England. In 1561, when Mary sought a passport to return to Scotland through England, Elizabeth refused unless Mary would promise at once to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh. To her cousin's imperious message and to the further taunt that she was young and lacked experience, Mary replied 'that she had age and experience enough to use herself to her friends and kinsfolk friendly

and uprightly.' She proudly determined to sail direct to Scotland. With her went her two French uncles, the Duc d'Aumale and the Marquis d'Elbœuf, together with a large number of her French attendants. The Scotch had prepared to meet her with some show of rejoicing, for, although a Papist to be hated, she was also a sovereign to be honoured. She arrived in August, and in September made her public entry into Edinburgh and took up her abode at the royal palace



MARY'S HARP.

of Holyrood. Mary's advent into Scotland was not a happy one. The great reformer, John Knox, tells how 'the very face of the heaven at the time of her arrival did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into the country with her—to wit, sorrow, dolour, darkness, and all impiety.' There was little hope of satisfying a people whose bigotry led them to seek such evil portents. Moreover, Mary was every inch a Queen, unused to being thwarted, headstrong, haughty. The blood of both the Tudors and the Stuarts flowed in her



[*Photochrom Co., Ltd.*]

HOLYROOD PALACE,

veins, and abroad she had been educated in the traditions of the despotic kings of France.

Trouble soon came. The Scotch objected to the celebration of Mass for the Queen, and attacked one of her priests. When the Queen persisted in her religious observances, rumours were afloat that no obedience was due to an idolater. As early as 1562 the first rebellion broke out. Earl Huntly and his sons defied the Queen, and Huntly refused her admission to his castle in Inverness. The Queen relied chiefly on her half-brother, James, Earl of Murray, and the Laird of Lethington; the other lords were not yet openly hostile, hence the rebels were seized and executed. The levity of the Queen's Court was another subject of displeasure. Mary, surrounded by her favourite attendants, her four namesakes, the 'Queen's Maries,' as they are called, was wont to indulge in all the pleasures and pastimes with which she had grown familiar in France. The stern Puritans were scandalized; John Knox went so far as to put down the severe famine of 1563 to the 'riotous feasting and excessive banquetting used in Court and country wherever that wicked woman repaired.' At one time her favouritism to the French minstrel, Châtelar, was the cause of offence. When Châtelar suffered death at the Queen's orders for his own presumption, Knox declared 'that he lost his head that his tongue should not utter the secrets of the Queen.'

The gloomy Puritan and the pleasure-loving Queen could never understand each other. Knox had written a book called 'The Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,' in which he pointed out the evils which seemed to him to flow from female rule. In various interviews the Queen and her outspoken subject tried to impress their own views upon each other, but

Knox never failed to stir up Mary's wrath. Once when the question concerned the Queen's possible marriage with a Roman Catholic, Knox declared that she burst into a tempest of tears so that her chamber-boy 'could scarce get napkins to hold her eyes dry.'

The marriage question was a pressing one. Various suitors were proposed, but the Scotch could not tolerate a foreigner or a Catholic, and Elizabeth of England must not be offended. The English Queen could not repress a certain jealousy of her beautiful cousin, with whom in moments of feminine vanity she was always comparing herself, inquiring minutely of Melville, the Scotch Ambassador, concerning her cousin's hair and complexion, and whether she danced and played better than she herself. While the Earl of Leicester was still hesitating to claim Mary's hand, hoping still for the richer prize of Elizabeth, Mary declared her intention of marrying Lord Darnley, the son of the Earl of Lennox and Margaret, daughter of Margaret Tudor, James IV.'s widow, by her second husband, the Earl of Angus. The match ought to have been popular in Scotland, for Darnley was a native and a Protestant; but a group of nobles, headed by the Earls of Murray and Argyle, were displeased, and the festivities and grand Easter celebrations which accompanied the marriage roused further bitterness among the people. The hostile lords probably received encouragement from Elizabeth, but she was too wise to give them open help.

While Scotland was thus troubled, Mary herself showed little affection for her second husband, and refused to allow him to share her throne. She gave most of her confidence to David Rizzio, her secretary, an Italian, who was intensely unpopular with the

nobles. Darnley's annoyance and disappointment led him to enter into a secret agreement with the disaffected lords, and the result was the brutal murder of Rizzio by Lord Ruthven in Mary's very presence. After the terrible deed, and in the midst of the Queen's wrath and agitation, Ruthven boldly accused her of plotting against her own nobles and trying to restore the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland. Mary never forgave Darnley for the part that he had played in the plot that led to Rizzio's death.

In June, 1566, the birth of Prince James brought momentary joy. Melville was at once despatched to Elizabeth, who expressed herself delighted, but wept jealous tears in private. She looked forward to the day when Mary's son would sit upon her throne, and the thought did not soften her feelings to the mother. Meanwhile, Mary was giving further offence to her people by her persistent neglect of Darnley and her preference for the great Border lord, the Earl of Bothwell. Not even a severe illness from which the Queen suffered in the same year drew their hearts to her. At last, in 1567, all Europe was scandalized to hear of the murder of Darnley. It took place in a lonely house near Edinburgh, where he lay recovering from an attack of small-pox. The accounts were various. Some said he died by strangling in escaping from the house, which had been blown up, others that he died by the explosion.

Many names were mentioned in connection with the murder, among others Murray, Bothwell, Morton, Lethington, and James Balfour. But those lords who were brought to trial were acquitted because there was not sufficient evidence to condemn them. One thing only impressed itself on the minds of the people:

Mary had disliked her husband and wished to be rid of him.

Following close on Darnley's murder came the capture of Mary by Bothwell. He carried her off to his castle of Dunbar, where she married him. This was the crisis, Scotland was soon plunged into civil war again. At Carberry Hill Mary's troops were defeated, and she herself taken prisoner. She was lodged in the island castle of Lochleven. In July the Queen was forced to abdicate, and her infant son was proclaimed King, with Murray as Regent. Events followed each other rapidly. The news soon spread that Mary had made a daring escape and was about to trust to battle again. But at Langside, near Glasgow, she was defeated for the second time, and fled to England for protection.

Mary must have known that it was a grudging welcome which Elizabeth would offer. In truth, she was received more as a prisoner than a guest. She was lodged first at Carlisle Castle, afterwards at Bolton Abbey, while an inquiry was set on foot concerning her guilt in Darnley's murder. Many proofs against her were brought forward. The most convincing were at the time thought to be the famous 'Casket Letters,' which the Earl of Morton declared had been found in a 'certain silver box overgilt' in the possession of one of Bothwell's servants. In this box were various letters and contracts relating to the murder and the marriage between the Queen and Bothwell. Elizabeth determined for the present to keep Mary in England, and, as usual, to make terms with all parties, but Mary was chafing to be avenged of her enemies, and willing to dare anything in her own cause. During her nineteen weary years of captivity she became the centre of all

the Catholic plots against Elizabeth's throne. The Duke of Norfolk made secret overtures to marry her, and on his arrest in 1569 the great Northern Rebellion broke out, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. It was the most serious rebellion of the reign; the Earl of Sussex was sent against the rebels, and Mary herself was hastily removed to Coventry. The leaders fled, their followers were punished with ruthless cruelty. They were hanged in batches on many a village green.

The rebellion showed Elizabeth that there was still danger from the party in favour of the old religion. In the next year Pope Pius V. issued a Bull releasing Englishmen from their allegiance. It was evident that the Papists looked to Mary for Elizabeth's successor, and it needed all Cecil's vigilance to detect conspiracy. In 1571 a messenger of Ridolfi, the Pope's agent, was captured, and on him were found letters to Mary, Norfolk, and others. This led to the execution of Norfolk in the following year. Parliament wished to condemn Mary also, but Elizabeth at the time 'refused to put to death the bird that had flown to her for succour from the hawk.' Scotland was even more troubled. Murray had been murdered. First the Earl of Lennox, then the Earl of Mar, became Regent. In 1573 Edinburgh Castle, which hitherto had been held by Lethington for Mary, surrendered, and Lethington poisoned himself. Mary's chances of ever returning to her kingdom were slight. The years passed slowly and uneventfully to the imprisoned Queen. In 1582 a mysterious plot against the young King, James VI., roused Mary's worst fears for herself and her son. Her health was broken; she was suffering from a severe illness. Her place of residence was constantly changed

—Tutbury, Wingfield, Chatsworth, were among her prisons. At last, in 1586, she was moved to Fotheringhay, destined to be her last home. In that year another conspiracy was hatched. It was felt to be all the more dangerous because the English were helping the Netherlanders in their war with Spain. The plot had for its object the assassination of Elizabeth and her Ministers, and some letters from Mary to Sir Anthony Babington, one of the conspirators, fell into the hands of Walsingham. The conspirators themselves were executed, and never had public feeling in England run so high against Queen Mary. In the autumn a special commission sat, which found her guilty of high treason. Parliament demanded her death, and at length Elizabeth reluctantly consented. Perhaps she really shrank from such a step, perhaps she only feared the crisis with Spain which she knew Mary's execution must bring.

Mary took her sentence calmly, and faced death with all that dauntless courage which was her most attractive characteristic. But, in returning to Elizabeth a jewel once bestowed upon her as a pledge of safety, she wrote forcibly: 'I must remind you that one day you will have to answer for your charge, and for all those whom you doom, and I desire that my blood and my country may be remembered in that time.' On the day of her death she came 'most willingly' out of her chamber, speaking cheering words to her weeping attendants, and at the block she showed no sign of fear, but merely called upon God for mercy. Thus, proud and cool to the last, she revealed but little of the personal sufferings and the disappointed hopes of a life that had been one long chain of trouble. But another story was told by the veil, which fell from her hair,

leaving exposed a head 'as gray as one of three score and ten years old,' and her face, in the moment of death, was so much altered that few could have recognised her as the proud and beautiful Queen of Scots. So ended the 'tragedy of Fotheringay'



GREAT SEAL OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

THE COMPLAINT OF SCOTLAND.

Written on the assassination of Murray, 1570, showing the troubled state of Scotland.

Adieu, all gladness, sport, and play!
 Adieu, farewell, both night and day,
 All things that may make merry cheer,
 But sigh right sore in heart, and say,
 'Alas! to grief is gone my dear.'

Since nothing may my mourning mend,
 On God most high I will depend,
 My careful cause for to uprear,
 For He support to me will send,
 Although to grief has gone my dear.

My heavy hap and piteous plight
 Do pierce my heart both day and night,
 That limb nor lyth* I may not stir
 Till some revenge with force and might
 The cruel murder of my dear.

O noble lordes of renown !
 O barons bold ! ye make ye boun†
 To foot the field with fresh effeir,‡
 And dintis doure§ the pride bring down
 Of them that brought to grief my dear.

Revenge his death with one assent,
 With one heart, will, mind, and intent,
 In faithful friendship persevere ;
 God will you favour and them schent||
 By work or word that slew my dear.

Defend your King, and fear your God,
 Pray to avoid His fearful rod,
 Lest in His angry wrath austere
 Ye punished be, both even and odd,
 For not revenging of my dear.

With sobbing sigh I to you send
 This, my complaint, with due command,
 Desiring you all without fear
 Me, poor Scotland, for to defend,
 Since now to grief is gone my dear.

* Lyth = body. † Boun = ready.

§ Dintis doure = hard blows.

‡ Effeir = preparation

|| Schent = shame

EDMUND SPENSER.

(1552—1599.)

FROM Chaucer's time to that of Spenser there was no great English poet. English literature had languished during the troubles that led to the Wars of the Roses and in the restless times of the Reformation. But by Elizabeth's reign comparative peace and tolerance prevailed, in spite of the growing differences between Puritans and Catholics, rumours of disloyalty on all sides, and the course of the Counter-Reformation on the Continent, aided by the arms of Spain. The religious enthusiasms and persecutions through which Englishmen had passed had stirred at once their noblest and their vilest passions. Men had experienced the fulness of life, its aspirations after truth, its physical pains, its mental anguish, its great battles between good and evil. What men feel they are bound, sooner or later, to write about. Thus even the Marian persecutions had prepared the way for the Elizabethan men of letters. It was the soul-stirring life of the first half of the century which helped Spenser to revive the art of poetry and Shakespeare to create the English drama.

Edmund Spenser was born about 1552. Very little is known of his parentage and early life. In one of his poems he claims London as his birthplace:

'At length they all to merry London came—
To merry London, my most kindly nurse.'

His family was related to the more important family of the same name, the Spensers of Althorpe. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, whence in 1569 he passed to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. It is thought that the future poet had already begun to write, and that certain translations from Petrarch's sonnets which



EDMUND SPENSER.

(From an engraving by Geo. Vertue.)

appeared in a pamphlet about this time came from his pen.

At Cambridge Spenser was brought under Puritan influences. The famous Protestant preacher Cartwright lost his professorship while Spenser was at Cambridge, and Grindal, who later became Archbishop,

was among his contemporaries. He was also brought into touch with men of letters. Gabriel Harvey and Edward Kirk, who both made themselves famous in the literary world, were his friends. Spenser himself was awarded no high honours at Cambridge. In 1576 he left the University, and probably went northwards for a time. His career for the next two years can chiefly be traced through his letters to Harvey, and for the most part these deal only with literary subjects; but one glimpse into his own life is revealed in his avowed adoration of a fair lady whom he styles 'Rosalind, the widow's daughter of a glen.' She, however, rejected his suit. Spenser, perhaps for this reason, soon left the north and came southwards. He became intimate with Sir Philip Sidney, the Earl of Leicester's famous nephew. Spenser regarded him with an admiration which bordered on worship. Sidney, the courtier, writer, and soldier, represented to him all that was noble, cultured, and knightly in the Elizabethan age—his ideal of an accomplished English gentleman. Sidney probably introduced Spenser to Leicester, who gained him admittance to the brilliant circle that surrounded Elizabeth's Court.

Spenser's pen was busy at this time. His letters to Harvey refer to the 'Shepherd's Calendar,' and even to the beginnings of the 'Faery Queen,' which he sent to his friend for criticism. Harvey strongly recommended Spenser to drop allegory and adopt the drama as his form of literature. 'If so be,' he wrote, 'the Faery Queen be fairer in your eyes than the Nine Muses . . . fare you well, till God or some good angel put you in a better mind.'

In 1579 the 'Shepherd's Calendar' was published, with a preface by Kirk. Spenser acknowledged in it

the deep debt of gratitude he owed to Chaucer, whom he calls Tityrus,

'The sovereign head of shepherds all
That be with love y-take.'

The Calendar consists of twelve Eclogues or Goatherd's Tales, each one named after a month in the year. There is no connection between the various poems, which touch on all sorts of subjects. Spenser himself is Colin Clout, the shepherd-boy, who,

'When winter's wasteful spite was almost spent,
All in a sunshine day as did befall,
Led forth his flock that had been long y-pent.'

All his characters are disguised as 'jolly shepherds' and 'bonny swains,' Hobbinoll, Diggon, Cuddie, and Piers, strolling with their flocks and pipes in a world of woodland and pasture, and expressing freely their thoughts about the universe. Three of the Eclogues tell in mournful strain of the poet's own disappointed love. He plays his wistful pipe to

'The gods of love that pity lovers' pain,
If any gods the pain of lovers pity.'

One sings the praises of the Queen. Three deal with the vexed questions of the Church. In these Spenser shows his distinct Puritan leaning. His ideal pastor, Algrind, is meant for Archbishop Grindal, who had lately been suspended, and he attacks fearlessly the greed and carelessness of the clergy.

The poetic grace and force of Spenser's first published work brought him immediately into prominence. But he had come to London to earn a living, and he could not live on poetry. In 1580 he took the important step which decided the course of his whole future life and work. He accompanied Lord Grey of Wilton, the

new Lord Deputy, to Ireland. Ireland was in a state of great disturbance. It was just after the failure of Essex's scheme of colonization. The great Earl of Desmond was leading a rebellion in the south, some restless spirits in the north were threatening to follow suit. All parties in Ireland were intriguing with the King of Spain, for the religious question was made the pretext of Spanish interference. Ireland was to be saved from an enforced Protestantism. Long-standing native feuds and jealousies added to the confusion, and made the bitterness and bloodshed more terrible. Lord Grey was not the man to pacify these troubles. Himself straightforward and honest, even merciful and tender-hearted, if Spenser is to be believed, he saw only one way of stamping out rebellion—by slaughter. But the rebels were strong. Soon after Grey's arrival the English were severely defeated in an ambush near Wicklow. This probably provoked Grey to his terrible revenge. He besieged a party of Spaniards who had established themselves in the fortress of Smerwick, and, when the garrison surrendered, put them to death with ruthless ferocity. Spenser himself was present at the taking of Smerwick. In his 'View of the Present State of Ireland' he sought to defend the reputation of Grey, who was accused by the Queen of 'being a bloody man, who regarded not the life of her subjects no more than dogs.' To Spenser, Grey was simply stern justice personified. He, together with many other Englishmen, regarded the Irish as savage rebels, but he recognised that they had been mismanaged in the past, and he could feel for their sufferings in the present. He gives a vivid description of how the people from plenty 'were brought to such wretchedness that any stony heart would have rued the same.' In

the famine that followed the terrible devastations, 'out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves.'

Grey was recalled in 1581 and replaced by Sir John Perrot, a milder ruler, but Spenser stayed on in Ireland. In the years that followed he must have seen much of the harsher side of life. The scenes of savagery, starvation, and murder had a deep effect upon his character. In his leisure moments he was busy on the 'Faery Queen,' and its graphic pictures of the battles between valiant knights and wicked sorcerers, its scenes of enchantments and hideous spells were only too vividly suggested to him by the troubles around him. From his banishment in Ireland, far away from the culture and intellect of the Elizabethan Court, he heard of the doings in England, the panic which the plots to place Mary Queen of Scots on the throne excited, the growing hostility to Spain, the interference of Elizabeth on behalf of the persecuted Netherlanders. In 1586 came the tidings of Sir Philip Sidney's death-wound at the Battle of Zutphen. The news was a shock to Spenser. He felt that a blow had been struck at English learning and literature which it could scarcely sustain. He mourned the death of Sidney in a poem, 'Astrophel,' written in pastoral style:

'Young Astrophel, the pride of shepherd's praise,
Young Astrophel the rustic lasses love.'

He wrote more than one elegy and epitaph upon his hero, 'the world's late wonder and the heaven's new joy.' Of his own personal grief he wrote:

'Nor doth his Colin, careless Colin Clout,
Care now his idle bagpipe up to raise.'



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

(From an engraving by Vertue after the miniature by Oliver.)

Probably in 1586 Spenser moved to his last Irish home, Kilcolman Castle, in County Cork. It was part of the confiscated property of the Earl of Desmond. The rebellion was by now practically subdued, Ormond, Desmond's great foe, having been entrusted to complete the work which the English had begun, and to add to it his own personal vengeance and bitterness.

The scheme of colonising Munster was carried on apace. The settlers, part of whose duty it was to thoroughly subdue the surrounding Irish, were known as Undertakers. They numbered some great men among them. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been granted large estates, went to Ireland in 1589, and during his stay visited Spenser at Kilcolman. Here he was introduced to the 'Faery Queen,' the first three books of which were completed. Raleigh was enchanted. The result was Spenser's visit to England in the following year. Raleigh introduced the poet at Court, and gave him the opening he needed. The 'Faery Queen' was published, dedicated to 'the most high, mighty, and most magnificent Empress, renowned for piety, virtue, and all gracious government, Elizabeth.'

The great work which had been in the process of making for years was received with enthusiasm. It was poetry which rose above any previous or contemporary effort—dignified, melodious, rich in thought and word, full of original beauty. Apart from its literary charm, its tales of desperate battles suited the adventurous spirit of the age, its display of chivalry pleased the Elizabethan courtier, its veiled allusions to great national events appealed to the patriotism which the struggle with Spain had fostered. In a letter to Raleigh, Spenser sketched the plan of his poem. It was

both a spiritual and historical allegory, built up on the model of the legends of Arthur. The Queen Gloriana was in person Elizabeth, but in the abstract the glory of God. Her twelve knights, who undertook the task of fighting for the cause of right, each represented a virtue; each one was struggling with many failures to set forth the glory of God. Arthur himself was the ideal man, the embodiment of all the virtues. He represented the old Greek ideal, Magnificence, 'which virtue is the perfection of all the rest.' To the Christian he stood for Christ Himself.

Spenser did not adhere strictly to his plan, and the twelve books were never completed. In the first book he depicted Truth in the form of a fair maiden, Una, and her champion the Red Cross Knight, Holiness. The dragon who was besieging the parents of Truth was typical of the devil; the dwarf who accompanied them was the Flesh; the wood in which they took refuge and in which they had to baffle the terrible monster Error was the World, with its winding ways. Spenser was a Protestant, and his poem was not free from bitterness against the Roman Catholics. Archimago, Hypocrisy, represented the Roman Catholic faith, and the witch Duessa, or Falsehood, who misled the true knight, stood for the Church of Rome. Again, in the historical sense Una was Elizabeth, Duessa Mary Queen of Scots. The whole story set forth the triumph of virtue over vice. Truth could subdue the lion, Reason, who rushed upon her, and overawe Superstition by her voice; but Reason fell before Sansloi, Lawlessness. The Red Cross Knight could overthrow the Saracen, Sansfoi, Infidelity, though he was led astray by the scarlet-clad Duessa, with her mitre and jewels, and was wounded in the House of Pride by Sansjoi,

Joylessness. But Arthur, preceded by his squire blowing the wonderful horn, the Gospel, came to the aid of Holiness, rescued him from Duessa, and reunited him to the lady, Una, and in the last desperate struggle with the dragon the knight Holiness won his victory. In the second book, Sir Guyon, the hero, represented Temperance, its struggles and triumph over temptation. In the third book, the Legend of Chastity, the heroine Britomart embodied the virtue Purity.

Praise and congratulation poured in to Spenser from all sides. The 'Faery Queen' had won him fame, but not fortune. There is a story that Elizabeth promised him £100, but when Cecil objected that this was unreasonable, 'Then give him,' quoth she, 'what is reason.' Spenser, on finding that he received nothing, wrote to the Queen:

'I was promised on a time
To have reason for my rhyme;
From that time unto this season
I received nor rhyme nor reason.'

In return he had his £100.

The 'Faery Queen' was followed by the publication of other poems in a collection known as 'The Complaints.' Among others appeared 'The Ruins of Time,' an elegy on Sidney; 'The Tears of the Muses,' deploring the low state of literature; and a famous satire on the intrigues of Court life, entitled 'Mother Hubbard's Tale.' Meanwhile, Spenser himself had gone back to Kilcolman. He left the Court with mixed feelings. In a poem addressed to Raleigh, 'Colin Clout's come Home Again,' he referred to the intellectual society which delighted him:

'There learned arts do flourish in great honour,
And poets' wits are had in peerless price.'

He described the Queen as 'a crown of lilies upon a virgin bride's adorned head.' Her words were 'like a stream of honey fleeting'; her deeds 'great clusters of ripe grapes'; her looks 'beams of the morning sun'; her thoughts 'the fume of frankincense.' He touched lightly on the spirit of romance :

' For all the walls and windows there are writ
All full of love and love and love, my dear.'

On the other hand, he shrank from the intrigues of the Court. In 'Mother Hubbard's Tale' he wrote :

' For there thou needs must learn to laugh, to lie,
To face, to forge, to scoff, to company.'

Moreover, he revelled in his country home, with its lake, its plains, its distant hills and tumbling rivers. In the 'Faery Queen' he mentions with affection both hill and stream: 'The highest heights of Arlo hill,' and 'Mulla mine, whose waves I whilom taught to weep.' The shepherds welcome Colin home again with the assurance :

' Whilst thou wast hence, all dead in dole did lie,
The woods were heard to wail full many a sigh,
And all their birds with silence to complain.'

Two years later Spenser gave up his State appointment, and in 1594 he married. The story of his wooing is told in his sonnets, the 'Amoretti,' and he wrote one of his grandest poems—the wedding ode 'Epithalamion'—to his bride. By this time three more books of the 'Faery Queen' were finished. They set forth the virtues of Friendship, Justice, and Courtesy; they were destined to form the last complete part. Only a fragment of the seventh book—which was probably meant to illustrate Constancy—survives. One passage in the fifth book, in which Spenser set forth the case against

Mary Queen of Scots, brought down upon him the wrath of King James, who desired his prosecution. Spenser could not refrain from bringing his own new happiness into his work. In the sixth book his lady-love appears dancing among the Graces to the piping of Colin Clout.

‘But that fair one,
That in the midst was placèd paramount,
Was she to whom that shepherd piped alone.’

To turn from Spenser's peaceful home and intense happiness to the events that were happening all around him is like turning from dreamland to stern reality. In 1594, O'Neill, the great Irish Earl of Tyrone, rose against the English Government. The spirit of rebellion spread rapidly. By 1597, Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster were in arms; by the autumn of the following year rebellion blazed out in Munster. Among others, Spenser, as a former servant of the Government, was marked out for attack. Kilcolman was sacked and burned. Spenser and his wife escaped, but their infant child is said to have perished in the flames. Poor and homeless, the poet once again found his way to London, perhaps hoping for the patronage of his Court friends. It was a very different visit from his last, for the shock and exposure to poverty had been too much for him, and in January, 1599, he died. If his friends were tardy in their succour, at least they recognised that the great poet merited an honourable grave. He was buried, at the Earl of Essex's expense, in Westminster Abbey near to his predecessor, Chaucer. An early handbook to the Abbey quotes his epitaph:

‘Here, nigh to Chaucer, Spenser, stands thy hearse,
Still nearer stand'st thou to him in thy verse:
While thou didst live, lived English poetry;
Now thou art dead it fears that it shall die.’



Photograph Co., Ltd.

ON CHURCH OF AGE BELONGING TO THE SIDNEY FAMILY

But Spenser's poetry, far from dying, became a fresh starting-point in English literature; he had opened the way for the poets who succeeded him.

*Lines from a Pastoral Eclogue on the Death of Sir
Philip Sidney.*

Colin. Phillisides is dead. O harmful death,
O deadly harm! Unhappy Albion,
When shalt thou see among thy shepherds all
Any so sage, so perfect? Whom unneath
Envy could touch for virtuous life and skill;
Courteous, valiant, and liberal.
Behold the sacred Pales, where with hair
Untrussed she sits in shade of yonder hill.
And her fair face, bent sadly down, doth send
A flood of tears to bathe the earth; and there
Doth call the heavens spiteful, envious,
Cruel his fate, that made so short an end
Of that same life, well worthy to have been
Prolonged with many years, happy and famous.
The nymphs and oreads her round about
Do sit lamenting on the grassy green;
And with shrill cries, beating their whitest breasts,
Accuse the direful dart that death sent out
To give the fatal stroke. The stars they blame
That deaf or careless seem at their requests.
The pleasant shade of stately groves they shun;
They leave their crystal springs, where they wont frame
Sweet bowers of myrtle twigs and laurel fair,
To sport themselves free from the scorching sun.

And now the hollow caves where horror dark
Doth dwell, whence banished is the gladsome air
They seek ; and there in mourning spend their time
With wailful tunes, whilst wolves do howl and bark,
And seem to bear a burden to their plaint.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

(1564—1616.)

IN the spring of 1564 the greatest of all Queen Elizabeth's subjects was born. There is a cheerless, unpretentious-looking house in the little town of Stratford-on-Avon, which is still pointed out to the hundreds of tourists who flock thither as Shakespeare's birthplace. It is his birthplace by tradition only; it was certainly his home for many years. His father, John Shakespeare, was a burgess of Stratford, an all-round trader in corn, wool, malt, meat, and leather. From time to time he held posts of dignity in the Corporation, rising in 1568 to the office of bailiff for the year. William was the eldest of his children who survived their infancy; there were two daughters and two sons younger.

Probably all John Shakespeare's sons were educated at the Free Grammar School, and here the future poet made acquaintance with Latin grammar and literature, besides learning English and French. If the story of his earliest biographer, Aubrey, be true, he had left school by the time he was thirteen, and was then a butcher's apprentice, perhaps assisting in one department of his father's business. Unlike Wolsey, Shakespeare was not conspicuous for his brilliant talents in boyhood. He can only have received a very ordinary

education at school, but the fields and woods were his teachers. There breathes through many of his plays



[Photochrom Co., Ltd.]

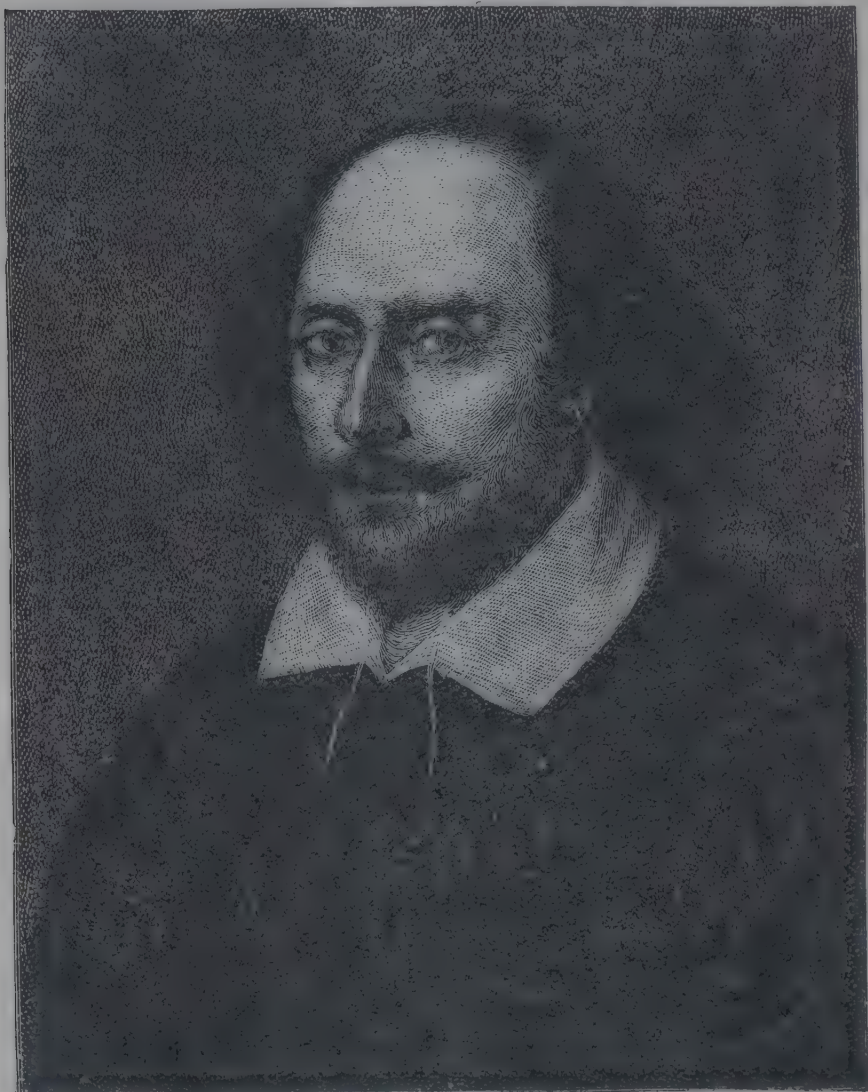
SHAKESPEARE'S HOUSE AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

an intense enthusiasm for a free country life. Some of the scenes in 'Cymbeline' are laid in the mountains of

Wales; in 'As You Like It,' in the depths of the forest of Arden; in the Induction to the 'Taming of the Shrew,' the 'alehouse on a heath' and the country characters connected with it were taken from Warwickshire village life, and prove Shakespeare's close acquaintance with the countryside. His first insight into human character was gained, not from books, but from his companions at school and play. The plots of Shakespeare's plays were seldom original; he gathered them from all sources; but his characters were his own creations, and drawn with infinite genius and the sympathy that is begotten of understanding.

As Shakespeare grew to manhood, the town records of Stratford show signs of the decline of his father's fortunes. In 1582, when only eighteen, William made a hasty marriage with Anne Hathaway, a farmer's daughter some years older than himself. In the following year his eldest daughter, Susanna, was born, and two years later a twin son and daughter. Soon afterwards Shakespeare left Stratford. Rumour associated his name with a deer-stealing raid on the park of a neighbouring gentleman, Sir Thomas Lucy. The charge may be calumny; but Shakespeare was evidently a high-spirited, adventurous fellow, burning for an active life, as his journey to London in search of a fortune proves. In his plays he gives evidence of a passionate sympathy with sport, and in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor' he holds up to ridicule a choleric old gentleman, one Justice Shallow of Gloucester, who has come up to London, swelling with indignation, to lay a complaint against deer-stealers before the Star Chamber. Tradition ascribes to Shakespeare the route which runs through Oxford and High Wycombe to London, and points to the Crown Inn in Cornmarket

Street, Oxford, as one of his resting-places. Be this as it may, the future dramatist arrived in London about 1586, young and friendless, and with the work in



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

(From the Chandos portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.)

front of him of making a name and a fortune. The story is very likely true that he made his first acquaintance with the London stage by holding horses at the door of the theatre.

By Shakespeare's day the refining and widening influence of the Renaissance was beginning to make itself felt on the stage as elsewhere. The dramatic performances of the Middle Ages had been of the rudest and coarsest description. The mystery and miracle plays which set before the people scenes from the Scriptures and legends of the saints had at first been organized by priests and monks to make religion a more real thing to the mass of the people, who could understand little enough of the Latin services. But such plays had fallen into the hands of the townsmen, and had become mixed with much of the low buffoonery and comic acting of the many strolling players who wandered about enlivening village taverns, great lords' halls, and country cloisters with their ribald jests. The enactment of these plays in the streets on festivals brought crowds of country folk, merchants, palmers, monks, even young nobles and their retainers, into the towns, which often became scenes of riot and brawling. Companies of players under distinguished patronage had also come into being; they travelled about dignified by the titles of the 'Queen's Players,' 'My Lord of Leicester's Players,' and so forth. A few tragedies existed, distinguished for their gruesome horrors, and a few worthless historical pieces. But a new class of dramatists was springing up, men who aimed at making the drama something higher and more beautiful. The most prominent among them were John Lyly, Robert Greene, George Peele, and Christopher Marlowe, the last of whom forestalled Shakespeare in using blank verse as his usual form of writing.

The pleasure-loving Elizabeth patronized the stage, but the town authorities were apt to look doubtfully on the actors and the crowd of brawlers and pickpockets

which assembled in their train. By the time Shakespeare reached London two theatres existed, both placed carefully outside the City bounds, and it was in the theatre in the fields of Finsbury and Shoreditch that the great dramatist first became acquainted with plays and playgoers. A theatre in those days was the roughest structure—roofless, and, for the most part, without seats. The stage consisted of bare boards with a raised platform, which served indifferently for casement, hill, or balcony. The staging was simple. Most of the actors purchased their clothes from the cast-off wardrobes of noblemen. No women acted; their parts were played by masked boys. In the play introduced into ‘*Midsummer Night’s Dream*’ Flute is bidden by Quince to play Thisbe in a mask. All these shortcomings the spectators were supposed to disregard in their intelligent appreciation of the acting. The chorus who introduces the play of ‘*Henry V.*’ bids the audience

‘ Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts;
Into a thousand parts divide one man,
And make imaginary puissance;
Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them
Printing their proud hoofs i’ the receiving earth;
For ’tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings,
Carry them here and there; jumping o’er times,
Turning the accomplishment of many years
Into an hour-glass.’

Very little is known directly about Shakespeare’s early career; but within six years of his leaving home he had begun to write, and his works were evidently becoming known. The author Robert Greene, before his death in 1592, referred to him as ‘an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers,’ and calls him ‘an absolute *Johannes factotum* in his own conceit, the only Shake-

scene in a country.' Therefore, his fame as a writer was already causing envy among his contemporaries. From his earliest plays we gather that Shakespeare was not easily reconciled to the cramping life of a London lodging. 'Love's Labour's Lost,' his first original play, probably written in 1589 or 1590, is fresh with the breath of the country :

' When daisies pied and violets blue,
And lady-smocks all silver white,
And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue
Do print the meadows with delight.'

Shakespeare maintains the superiority of the large world of nature over the little world of society, and directs many a sharp thrust at the absurdities of speech and manner of the Elizabethan gallants. One play after another followed quickly from his pen, and his talent unfolded itself rapidly. It is even possible that his great tragic love-story, 'Romeo and Juliet,' was written as early as 1591. It portrays the ecstasy of youthful love and the intolerable bitterness of disappointment.

In 1594 Shakespeare received a gratifying recognition of his fame as an actor. He was summoned to play before the Queen at Greenwich on Boxing Day and the day after. He was accompanied by Richard Burbage, the great tragic actor, and William Kemp, the favourite comedian of the day. The players received no mean reward for their duties—a sum equal to about £160 to-day. Probably Shakespeare owed the honour to the gay young Earl of Southampton, his patron, whose influence at Court stood the young actor in good stead. In 1593 he addressed his poem, 'Venus and Adonis,' to the Earl. Some of his sonnets contain flattering references to him, and in the opening epistle

to the poem 'Lucrece' he wrote, 'What I have done is yours, what I have to do is yours, being part in all I have devoted yours.' It was most likely after his visit to Court in 1594 that Shakespeare wrote his fantastic 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' in which he gave his audience a glimpse into fairyland. The light and frolicsome spirit of the play, the beauty of the language, and the freaks of Puck, who represented the old English fairy, Robin Goodfellow, soon made it one of the most popular of Shakespeare's comedies. In the play he tossed a dainty compliment to the Queen—'the fair vestal throned by the west,' whom Cupid's love-shafts left, 'in maiden meditation, fancy-free.'

Shakespeare turned next to history for his theme. At this time of his career the influence of Marlowe is traceable in his writing, and parts of the play 'Henry VI.' may have been written with the help of Marlowe and Peele. In 1593 Shakespeare drew his great historical villain, Richard III. The whole play turns on the greatness and wickedness of the hunchback King, whose untempered cruelty, coupled with his powerful intellect and magnificent courage, make him a terror upon earth. 'Richard II.' was written about the same time, and 'King John' followed in 1596.

Shakespeare's next comedy was the 'Merchant of Venice,' but it was of a very different nature from the preceding ones, and marks the author's growth from youth to manhood. The characters are much more fully developed. The combined beauty and intellect of Portia stand out in striking contrast to the bitter passions of the persecuted Jew when he himself becomes persecutor. There is a clever mingling of tragic and comic threads, for the final discomfiture of

the solitary outcast Jew adds a touch of tragedy to the otherwise happy ending.

There is some reason to believe that in 1596 Shakespeare visited his native town again. He had left it ten years before as a poor man, and perhaps in disgrace. He came back with a name already made and a small fortune in process of making. In that year his only son died, and it is probable that he visited his wife at the time. From that year onward, his father ceased to be perpetually prosecuted for debt. In the following year Shakespeare purchased New Place, the largest house in Stratford. He began to be regarded as a man of wealth and influence in the town, and there are letters extant appealing for his charity. But his work in London showed no signs of flagging. After another historical play, 'Henry IV.,' he indulged in comedy again, this time of a light and careless nature. He was still high in Court favour, and, if report be true, he wrote the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' at the Queen's own request, to reproduce Falstaff, the vulgar but witty and lovable old knight, perhaps the most popular of all his comic characters. In 1599, in 'Henry V.,' he drew the portrait of his ideal King, and appealed to the spirit of patriotism on behalf of this happy England, 'like little body with a mighty heart,' setting forth, in the story of the famous battle, those things which England might still accomplish, 'were all her children kind and natural.' Of his later comedies 'As You Like It' is the gem. Possibly the poet's renewed acquaintance with his home inspired him with a fresh love of country life. The chief scenes are laid in the Forest of Arden. Here the banished courtiers find a resting-place, the maiden Rosalind can play her pranks in the garb of a shepherd boy, the

melancholy Jaques can soliloquize on the vanities of life, and the Duke can find 'tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything'—all this with a background of trees, flowers and streams, dainty shepherdesses and love-sick swains.

Curious testimony of the hold which Shakespeare's plays had upon the people is gleaned from the events of 1601. When Essex and his friends were planning a rising, arrangements were made for the performance of the play 'Richard II.' before the public to stir up their feelings against an unsatisfactory rule. The plot failed, Essex was executed, and Southampton imprisoned, while the Queen complained angrily of the too frequent representations of Richard II. From this time we can trace a still further change in the character of Shakespeare's work. The darker side of life had revealed itself to the poet. He felt keenly the restless, troubled state of the times; he embodied his experiences in his great tragedies. In 'Julius Cæsar' he showed himself to be as much at home in the streets of Rome as he was in London or in fairyland. He drew in striking contrast the generous manliness of Brutus and the cunning reasoning of Antony; Brutus's stern conviction that in the murder of Cæsar he was helping Rome, and the unreflecting fickleness of the mob, 'the many-headed multitude.' The tragic story of Hamlet, the Danish prince, followed, unfolding the agonies of a mind perplexed and distraught in the midst of darkness and crime. Some of the best of Shakespeare's work, his grandest tragedies, his most refined romances, were written in the reign of James I. He drew the heart-broken old King Lear at war with his unnatural daughters; the unhappy Macbeth struggling feebly against the evil influences that lead him to his ruin;

Othello, the Moor of Venice, whose passionate love and unreasoning jealousy end in the murder of his innocent wife Desdemona and his own death; the haughty Roman patrician, Coriolanus, banished by the people because he will not 'buy their mercy at the price of one fair word'; the restless Antony vainly seeking happiness in the worship of pleasure at the Court of his Egyptian Queen.

But from the passions and sins of tragedy Shakespeare turned in his later years to brighter scenes; he wrote a series of romances, of which 'Cymbeline' and the 'Tempest' are the most famous. In 'Cymbeline' he traced pathetically the fortunes of a noble but mistrusted wife, who is finally reconciled to her husband. The 'Tempest' owed its origin to a real occurrence—a shipwreck on the then unexplored islands of the Bermudas. From the tales of the mariners Shakespeare drew his imaginary island, haunted by spirits and devils, on which Prospero is cast away. In the great historical play, 'Henry VIII.,' begun by Shakespeare, completed by another hand, the poet dared to touch on subjects and persons closely connected with his own time, and to reveal something of the ambitions and disappointments, the tragedies and comedies of the Tudor age.

The last few years of the poet's life were spent in Stratford. His wife was by this time advanced in years. Of his two daughters, the elder, her father's favourite, was married in 1607, the younger in 1616. It was probably the most peaceful time of Shakespeare's life; he was living in the heart of his family, reunited to his wife, respected and honoured by his fellow-townsmen. We should like to know more of the great poet, to whose public life English literature owes so much,

but there was no biographer to lift the veil. In the April of 1616, in the same month—it is thought on the same date—as his birth, the poet died. He was buried in Stratford Church.

Shakespeare's genius was recognised by the people of his own age. The Queen patronized him to the last; the very month before her death he was performing before her in her palace at Richmond. His plays attracted crowds to the theatres. Ben Jonson spoke of him as 'Soul of the age, the applause, delight, and wonder of our stage.' He was gifted with a marvellous genius, with many-sided sympathies, and a ready appreciation of all conditions of life; he reflected in his plays every tendency of the time, every dominant passion, every growing power; he was 'the soul' of that age which had learned wonderful lessons from its freshly-opened stores of classic lore, its new-found continent, its reformed Church, its knowledge of the New Testament. The Renaissance had brought liberty of thought in its train, and with that liberty came bitter divisions and persecutions. That was one side only. It had brought also a power of imagination and an enlightened sympathy, which drew the men of the sixteenth century into touch with every age which had preceded them, and these gifts Shakespeare possessed in the highest degree.



STRATFORD-ON-AVON CHURCH.

[Valentine and Sons, Ltd.]

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

(1540(?)—1596.)

THE discovery of America seemed at first like the realization of a dream. The New World men aptly called it, for its very existence, its untold treasures, and its strange inhabitants proved that real things were far stranger than those of the most vivid imagination; men's minds reeled before their own great discoveries. The Spaniards were the first to press in and take possession. Their conquests of Mexico and Peru followed rapidly upon each other; their colonies on the mainland and in the West Indies, the opening of the gold and silver mines, the finding of treasure, filled them with a sublime belief in their own prowess. They called themselves the masters of the sea and half the world beside; they wrote their motto proudly, *Non sufficit orbis*.*

The English were behind the Spaniards. They were going through the throes of the Reformation and the series of changes which it brought in its train; but Henry VIII. had recognised the importance of controlling the sea, and gathered together a fleet, of which the watchword and its response gave us the germ of our National Anthem, 'God save the King! Long to live over us!' In 1544 this fleet put to flight the French

* The world is not large enough.

off Portsmouth when they came to punish England in the name of the Pope ; and though under Edward VI.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

(From an engraving by Elstracke.)

and Mary it was neglected, Englishmen were growing more at home on the sea every year. A swarm of mer-

chantmen and pirate craft plied the waters, their sailors animated by a spirit of adventure quite as much as by a love of gain. They were bound to come into collision with the Spaniards, not only because the latter considered the sea their own highway, but because Spain was the great champion of the Pope, and placed her ports under the control of the Holy Office, which condemned all those who differed from the Roman Catholic doctrine to death by burning or to lifelong slavery in the galleys. The bitterness between the two races grew until it reached a pitch of reckless hatred which neither Philip nor Elizabeth could check. For thirty years the monarchs might temporize and play at peace, but it was war to the death between their subjects on the sea. Hence it came about that the first great English sailors were sea-robbers, distrusted by cautious statesmen, alternately frowned upon and encouraged by the Queen, but carrying with them wherever they went the hearts of the English people.

The grandest of these sea-dogs and the most popular was Francis Drake, one of those men of Devon whose fame upon the sea has won for that county its well-earned reputation for loyalty and daring. Drake was the son of a keen Protestant preacher, and in his youth questions of religion were being bitterly fought out in England. While the Marian persecutions were raging he was working as a skipper on a vessel which traded between Spain and Holland, and must have learnt something of the intolerance of the Spanish. He soon proved his skill as a seaman, and his master bequeathed him the vessel. Drake was next associated with his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, the slave-trader, who found a profitable occupation in taking natives from Africa and selling them to the Spaniards of America.

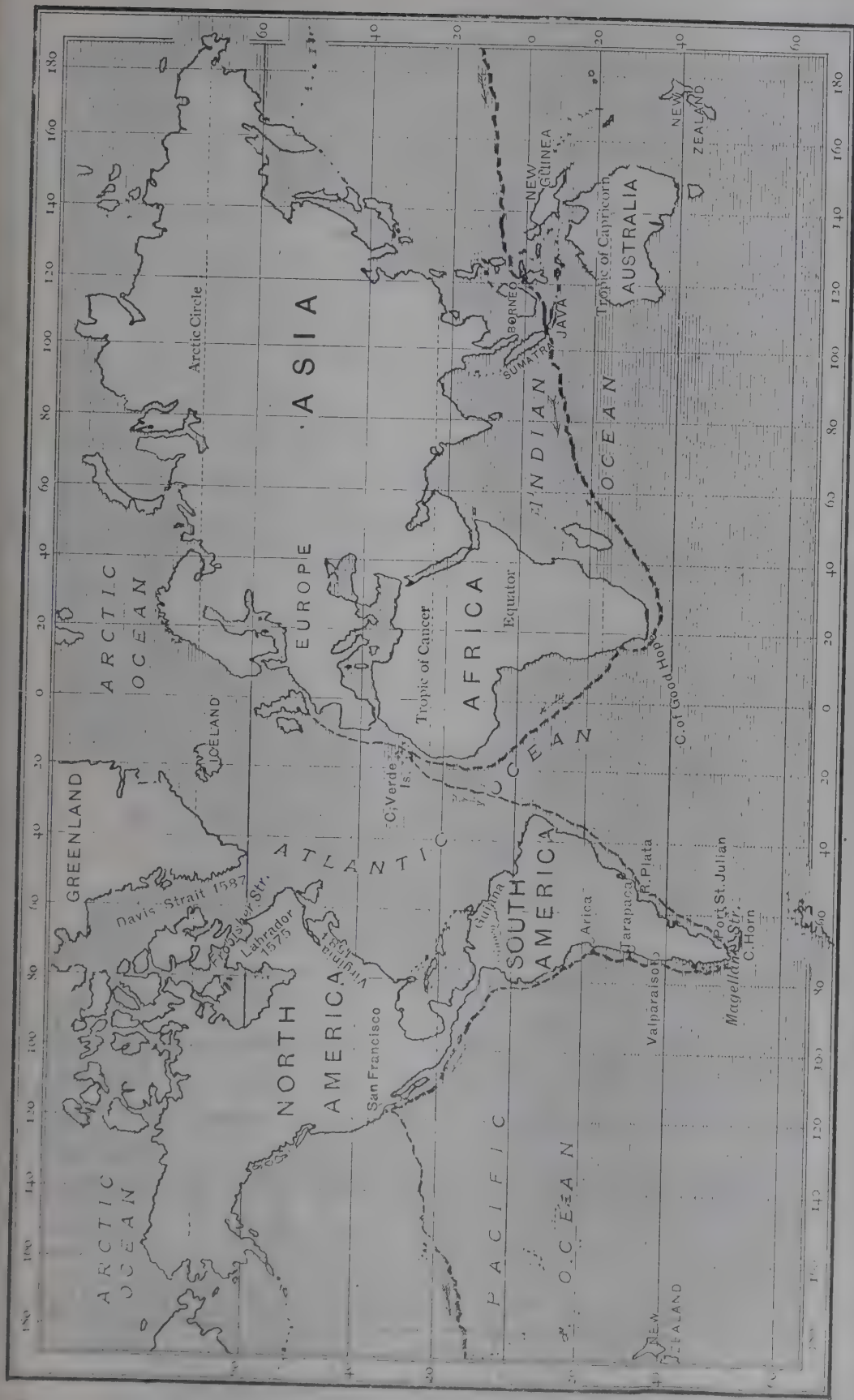
and the West Indies to work in the mines. Philip of Spain claimed to control the slave-trade; hence Hawkins and Drake were soon quarrelling with the Spanish, and became the deadly enemies of Spain. Hawkins was able to win his revenge early; it was through his wiles that the Ridolfi plot was discovered in 1571. Drake waited for a fuller vengeance.

Drake's first glimpse of the great world away to the West had filled him with a wander-thirst. He sought the earliest opportunity of going again. In 1572 he sailed from Plymouth in a sloop called the *Dragon*, accompanied only by two small pinnaces, bent on capturing the Spanish gold and silver from Peru as it was brought across the Isthmus of Panama. The details of this daring enterprise are shrouded in mystery. Drake kept his own counsel, for he had to remember there was no authority at home to back him; he surprised the mule-train, and returned home laden with an enormous booty of gold and silver, diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Elizabeth in secret applauded, but thought the game too dangerous to be continued. She found work for her sea-robber in helping to suppress a rebellion in Ireland, and four years elapsed before he was free to dream of the West again, with its soul-stirring adventures, its dazzling treasures, above all its opportunity for war.

When next Drake sailed Westward-ho, it was with a mighty plan in his brain. The Portuguese Magellan had already discovered the straits leading from the Atlantic to the Pacific, between the mainland of South America and Tierra del Fuego. He had died on his journey, but some of his companions had completed their journey, thus sailing all round the world. Drake determined to follow in their steps, and to attack Philip

on what had hitherto been his undisputed highway, the Pacific. He set sail from Plymouth in 1577 in a ship which on its way was christened the *Golden Hind*; with him sailed the *Elizabeth*, two small frigates, and a provision ship. Drake's whole heart was wrapped up in the enterprise, and he went to work with a grim sternness which ruthlessly swept away every barrier to success. On the way, at Port St. Julian, near the Magellan Straits, he even condemned to death one of his own friends, Thomas Doughty, who had been guilty of disobedience. After six weeks' stay on shore, the little company of adventurers sailed through the straits, and found themselves driving helplessly before a fierce westerly gale such as they had never experienced before. Their ships were scattered; some of the men were timid, others mutinous. But it was the Pacific, and the time for some Spanish play had come. Off Valparaiso they overtook a great Spanish galleon; further north, after an exciting chase, they captured another taking home to Philip a vast treasure of gold and jewels. They sailed northwards as far as San Francisco. At last, in sheer desperation of returning home (free from attack) by the way they had come, Drake boldly made for the Indian Ocean, to return home by the Cape of Good Hope. More than once on the homeward journey death stared them in the face; but at last, in the autumn of 1580, a battered and weather-beaten *Golden Hind* sailed into Plymouth Sound a thousand times as proudly as she had ridden out nearly three years before. England was soon ringing with the news that Drake had sailed round the world. Nothing after that seemed impossible to Englishmen.

During the next five years England was passing



MAP ILLUSTRATING DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

through a critical time. The Pope and Philip were making desperate efforts to stir up the English Roman Catholics and the discontented Irish against Elizabeth. The English retaliated by helping Philip's Protestant subjects in the Netherlands; but though plunder by sea still went on, the Queen was averse to open war. In 1585 Drake won a grudging consent to strike a blow at the national enemy. He headed a small company of privateers which stopped at Vigo and plundered Spain itself, then sailed westwards and did further damage in the Cape de Verde Islands and the West Indies, but it was not until two years later that war became inevitable.

In 1587 Mary Queen of Scots fell. Pope Sixtus V. renewed Elizabeth's excommunication, and exhorted Spain to attack England. Philip was at last determined, and all the sea-coast of Spain began to ring with preparations for the Great Armada. It was to be the grandest fleet that had ever been put upon the sea; its object was to conquer England in the name of Spain and for the sake of Rome. Every ship that could be pressed into the service was converted into a warship, every soldier who could be spared from the Dutch war was to help man the fleet. Elizabeth knew all this, but she weakly waited, still hoping for a reconciliation. However, in the spring Drake won her consent to make for the Spanish harbours and learn what was going forward. A vice-admiral accompanied him to keep a check upon his movements, and he was forbidden to do any damage to the Spaniards. Little cared Drake. He interpreted commands to suit his pleasure. He sailed into Cadiz Harbour, and when he sailed out again he left 10,000 tons of shipping blazing off the shore. He came out himself without the loss of a boat or a

man, and the poor vice-admiral had remonstrated in vain. Drake said he had 'singed the King of Spain's beard.' He brought home with him the *San Philip*, a magnificent vessel on its way home from the Indies, and 'so richly loaded that every man in the fleet counted his fortune made.' There was no sailing for the Armada that year.

In the spring of 1588 the Spanish fleet at last started. It consisted of 130 vessels, half of them great Spanish galleons. On board were 8,000 seamen and about 20,000 soldiers, besides a company of priests to exhort the men and convert the English. But the Armada was doomed from the first. It was under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who was quite incompetent; the Duke of Parma was to join him from the Netherlands. The wildest excitement prevailed in England; but though Elizabeth's preparations had been scanty, there was nothing approaching a panic. Lord Howard of Effingham was in command of the English fleet, but the numbers of his ships were far inferior to those of the enemy. The militia was in readiness, for no one knew what might be the issue of this formidable invasion. The expedition had the Pope's blessing as that of William the Conqueror had five centuries before, and it took more than a few years to root out of the great mass of Englishmen a firm belief in the powers of the Pope. The Armada left Corunna in July and sailed northwards, making for the Straits of Dover. The English commanders, Drake among them, were playing bowls on Plymouth Hoe when the enemy was sighted, and Drake coolly remarked that 'there would be time to finish the game and to beat the Spaniards too.' The news was spread along the coast by a blaze of beacons.

'Night sunk upon the dusky beach, and on the purple sea ;
Such night in England ne'er had been, nor e'er again shall be.
From Eddystone to Berwick bounds, from Lynn to Milford Bay,
The time of slumber was as bright and busy as the day ;
For swift to east and swift to west the ghastly war-flame spread ;
High on St. Michael's Mount it shone : it shone on Beachy Head.
Far on the deep the Spaniard saw along each southern shire
Cape beyond cape, in endless range, those twinkling points of fire.'

As the great fleet turned eastward, Lord Howard's ships were ready to fall upon it from all sides. The Spanish galleons were too unwieldy to make reprisals. A few of the vessels were altogether cut off, and others received serious damage, but they struggled on towards Calais. Howard, Frobisher, Drake, and Seymour were all with the English fleet ; they were forming a desperate plan for the dead of night. Off Calais, while darkness reigned on the sea, while the lights of Dover flickered faintly and peacefully away to the west, the Spaniards were suddenly confused by a blaze of light in their midst. The English had sent fire-ships among them. In their surprise, and in the wild attempt to escape that followed, the Spanish ships were scattered, and many wrecked or burnt. While Howard was following a few survivors into Calais, Drake in the *Revenge*, with Frobisher and Seymour in his rear, was in hot pursuit of the others, among which Sidonia's own galleon, the *San Martin*, towered above the rest. Off Gravelines a terrible engagement ensued. It was the climax of the long sea-struggle, and both Drake and his opponents knew it. They had called him El Draque, the serpent, the evil one ; his name was a household terror in Spain, and once again in this deadly encounter he had his triumph. Howard joined the struggle later, and it continued all day ; but when the evening came, Drake was hanging on the skirts of the shattered survivors,

who were driving helpless before a fierce gale. Some ships were taken, others met their fate on the Netherlands coast; the rest were lost to sight in the storm.

The wild outburst of national enthusiasm which greeted the defeat of the Armada was sweet to the sea-kings who had fought against Spain for so long. The defeat of Spain meant freedom from Roman Catholicism, from tyranny and persecution. 'God blew with His wind, and they were scattered' was the triumphant inscription on a medal which Elizabeth caused to be struck. Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and the rest were at last recognised as heroes of whom to be proud, not pirates of whom to be ashamed. Drake and one of his friends, Norris, formed a War Syndicate, to which the Council vouchsafed support. Drake's dream was of a great English Armada to drive Philip out of the kingdom of Portugal, from which he had expelled Don Antonio, another claimant. In a bold attack Corunna was captured, but Drake failed to take the capital, Lisbon. In England the expedition was counted a failure, and a court-martial inquired carefully into all the movements. Drake, in the meantime, was partly in disgrace. His pride was deeply wounded, and his forced inaction chafed him sorely. About the same time the news of the loss of his ship, the gallant little *Revenge*, reached England. It had been surprised by a number of Spanish ships in the Azores, and its commander, Sir Richard Grenville, had been mortally wounded in the heroic struggle, which Tennyson's famous poem describes—the fight of 'the one and the fifty-three.' Tales of Spanish successes and of the heroism of Devon lads when Drake was not upon the water! Such tidings maddened the old sailor.

Drake was soon restored to favour, but his brightest

days were past. Although he was as venturesome, as cheery, as determined as ever, he never again met with a brilliant success. In 1595 he and Hawkins, sailing to the West Indies together, missed by the merest chance the capture of a huge Spanish prize, for which Elizabeth was thirsting. The expedition entailed far more serious losses, for neither Hawkins nor Drake returned. Hawkins died on board, and after his death the ships were imprisoned by contrary winds in Mosquito Bay. There the great sea-king whom no Spaniard could overawe was struck down by pestilent airs and tropical heat. At first he struggled bravely against his sickness, then he raged feebly, but the disease was stronger than he. His men gave him a sailor's burial out in the Western sea, where his heart had always been. There was mourning in England, but the Spaniards breathed freely, for El Draque was dead.

Verses written on Drake's Return from his Voyage round the World.

Sir Francis, Sir Francis, Sir Francis is come;
Sir Robert, and eke Sir William his son,
And eke the good Earl of Huntingdon
Marched gallantly on the road.

Then came the Lord Chamberlain with his white
staff,

And all the people began to laugh;
And then the Queen began to speak:

' You're welcome home, Sir Francis Drake.



THE ARMADA OFF FOWEY AS FIRST SEEN.

(From the tapestry hangings in the House of Lords.)

' You gallants all o' the British blood,
 Why don't you sail o'er the ocean flood ?
 I protest you're not all worth a filbert
 If once compared to Sir Humphrey Gilbert.'

For he went out on a rainy day
 And to the new-found land found out his way,
 With many a gallant both fresh and green,
 And he ne'er came home again. God bless the
 Queen!

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE ; OR, EIGHTY-EIGHT.

Written later in memory of the defeat of the Armada.

In eighty-eight, ere I was born,
 As I can well remember,
 In August was a fleet prepared,
 The month before September.

Spain with Biscayne, Portugal,
 Toledo and Granada—
 All these did meet, and made a fleet,
 And called it the Armada.

Where they had got provision,
 As mustard, peas, and bacon,
 Some say two ships were full of whips,
 But I think they were mistaken.

There was a little man of Spain
 That shot well in a gun-a ;
 Don Pedro hight, as good a knight
 As the knight of the sun-a.

King Philip made him Admiral,
And charged him not to stay-a,
But to destroy both man and boy,
And then to run away-a.

The King of Spain did fret amayne,
And to do yet more harm-a,
He sent along, to make him strong,
The famous Prince of Parma.

When they had sailed along the seas
And anchored upon Dover,
Our Englishmen did board them then,
And cast the Spaniards over.

Our Queen was then at Tilbury.
What could you more desire-a?
For whose sweet sake Sir Francis Drake
Did set them all on fire-a.

But let them look about themselves,
For if they come again-a,
They shall be served with that same sauce
As they were, I know when-a.

THE FAME OF FRANCIS DRAKE.

Sir Drake, whom well the world's end knew,
Which thou did compass round,
And whom both poles of heaven once saw,
Which north and south do bound,

The stars above would make thee known
If man here silent were;
The sun himself cannot forget
His fellow-traveller.

SIR WALTER RALEGH.

(1552—1618.)

SIR WALTER RALEGH, like many of the adventurous spirits of Elizabeth's reign, was a West-Countryman. He was educated at Oxford, and in 1567 he joined a troop of mounted volunteers who went to help the Protestants in France. Later he probably passed on to take part in the fighting in the Netherlands. On his return he studied law in London, but either on the hills of Languedoc or else in fighting the Spaniards in the Netherlands, he had acquired a taste for an active life. He was, moreover, stirred by the example of his adventurous half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, through whose influence he was commissioned captain of a hundred foot-soldiers to help quell the Munster rebellion. He was present at the massacre of the Spanish and Irish garrison at Smerwick. Thus early in his career he learned to look upon the Irish as worthless rebels, and the Spaniards as England's most bitter foes. Throughout his life he treated both accordingly. On his return to England, Raleigh was entrusted with despatches to the Queen, and it is quite possible that the romantic story of his introduction to her is true, and that he won his way into her graces by casting his plush cloak over a muddy spot in her road. The story is characteristic of the man. The young Raleigh felt

life strong within him ; he longed for action and fame. He was a born courtier, and recognised that the quickest road to fortune lay through the Queen's friendship. Either the Earl of Leicester or his great rival, Sussex, probably had something to do with Raleigh's introduction at Court ; his handsome appearance and noble bearing went straight to Elizabeth's heart. The same author who tells the tale of Raleigh's chivalry tells also how, knowing Elizabeth's fancy for him, he wrote with a diamond on a pane of glass :

' Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.'

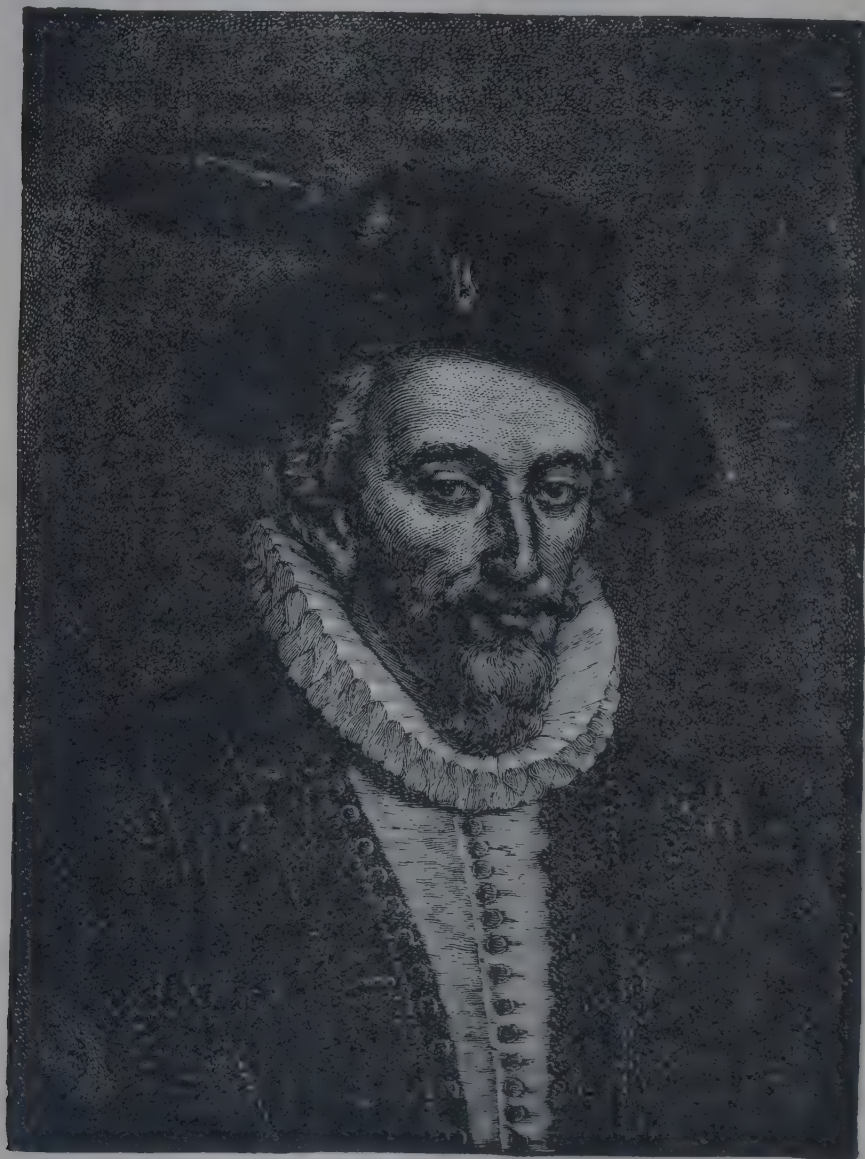
The Queen, reading, playfully wrote the reply :

' If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.'

Nevertheless, Raleigh's rise was due to Elizabeth's favour. He became her private secretary ; from time to time he was sent to escort a foreign envoy, and the Queen consulted him much on Irish business. In 1585 she appointed him Warden of the Stannary Courts of Devon and Cornwall, which decided disputes about the tin-mines, and in 1586 he rose to the honourable position of Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. In the same year he was granted lands in Ireland at the close of Desmond's rebellion, and became one of the most prominent of the group of Undertakers who resettled the desolated country and planted it with Protestant colonists from England. In 1587 he was still further enriched by a gift of confiscated estates in England.

But Raleigh was far from being satisfied with the idle life of a courtier. He was a man of profound ability, as the Queen had been quick to detect. His life was crowded with interests and pursuits so varied that one

alone would have sufficed an ordinary man. He was a poet whose praises were sung by Spenser, a historian the results of whose learning were afterwards embodied



SIR WALTER RALEGH.

(From a painting by F. Zuccherò.)

in a great unfinished 'History of the World'; an adventurer who dreamed of a grand future empire for his country, and who persisted, though unsuccessfully,

in his attempt to win for her a permanent footing in the great New World that lay Westward-ho. In addition, his duties at Court were not light ones, and he was a Member of Parliament for his own county, Devon. The idea of colonizing North America and building up there a power which should rival that of the Spaniards in the South had first occurred to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In 1583 he had received a licence from the Queen to colonize Newfoundland; but the expedition had proved a failure, and Gilbert had died. Raleigh renewed the licence, and in April, 1584, fitted out his first expedition to America. The Queen would not spare him to go in person, but his ships were well equipped, and a little colony was planted on the modern North Carolina coast. The colonists called their new home Virginia, in honour of the Queen. Everything depended at first on their friendly relations with the natives and a constant supply of provisions from England. In the next year Sir Richard Grenville sailed with supplies, and reported that the colonists were doing well; but soon afterwards quarrels broke out with the natives, further help from home was slow in coming, and in 1586 most of the settlers insisted on returning to England. Grenville, who again went to their help that year, found the colony deserted. He left fifteen men there, and in the next year Raleigh fitted out a still larger expedition, consisting of 150 colonists with their wives and children. But there were still further quarrels, and eventually nearly all the settlers either died or returned. Raleigh realized sadly that he had spent £40,000 to no purpose. Two results of his premature attempt at colonization have lived: the use of tobacco in England, and the cultivation of the potato.

Raleigh's spirit of enterprise next led him to follow

up Gilbert's project for discovering a North-West passage, and the Davis Straits still bear the name of the captain of Raleigh's expedition ; but in this, too, he was doomed to disappointment. Besides these definite naval enterprises, he was engaged in many smaller undertakings of a semi-piratical nature, which called forth the displeasure of Cecil and the peace party.

In 1588 war broke out, and Raleigh was then in his glory. War meant unlimited adventure and plunder. Raleigh was in Ireland when the Armada set sail, but he hastened to England, and was one of the party who attacked the Spanish fleet in the rear and aided in the work of destruction. In the next year he accompanied Drake's and Norris's expedition, which attacked Lisbon ; but a quarrel at Court with Essex, and the displeasure of the Queen, in the same year, drove Raleigh to Ireland again for a time, where he busied himself with settling his lands. It was probably in the summer of 1590 that he paid his visit to Spenser at Kilcolman and fell in love with the ' Faery Queen.' In 1591, however, Essex fell into disgrace for marrying Lady Sidney, and Raleigh was restored to favour. By a strange turn in the wheel of fortune his own love affairs landed him in the Tower the very next year. Here he remained for some months chafing at the confinement and making vain attempts to soften the Queen's heart. However, in the autumn a rich Spanish vessel was captured. Raleigh was needed to help apportion the spoil. No Queen could continue to frown when a wealth of amber, pearls, precious stones, satins, and diamonds was poured into her lap. This prize was Raleigh's ransom.

For the next two years Raleigh lived more quietly ; he married his lady-love, Elizabeth Throckmorton, who proved a devoted wife. In 1592 he became the possessor

of Sherborne Castle in Dorset, a beautiful home, where he indulged in building, planting, and falconry to his heart's content. But he was not yet allowed to perform his duties as Captain of the Guard, and it was probably to regain his old position in the Queen's favour that his next great enterprise was undertaken. In February, 1595, Raleigh set sail for Guiana, the unexplored land from which ever and anon fabulous tales of wealth and wonder drifted to England. It was said to be the home of the King El Dorado, a Will-o'-the-wisp of untold riches whom adventurers always sought in vain. It was reported to harbour the Amazons, the warrior women, and also hideous monsters, whose eyes were in their shoulders and mouths in their chests; above all, there were rumours of gold. The Spaniards who were in possession of the island of Trinidad had from time to time penetrated to the mainland, but the Indians had always proved too strong for them. By March Raleigh reached Trinidad; he stormed St. Joseph, the Spanish town, and captured its Governor. He told the natives that he was the champion knight of a wonderful maiden Queen, sent to free them from the Spaniards. Guided by the Indians, who were very friendly, Raleigh's party rowed up the Orinoco River some three hundred miles from the sea. Then they advanced by land into a paradise rich in brilliant birds, wild deer, waterfalls, and flowers, the soil of which gave plentiful promise of silver and gold. But the autumn rains drove the explorers back again, and they returned home bearing only wild reports of the wonderland which Raleigh was fired with a burning desire to colonize. He sent Keymis, his faithful captain, to explore further; but he was too late. The King of Spain had forestalled him.

Meanwhile Raleigh's energies were diverted to another direction. Philip of Spain had just entered into a league with the Earl of Tyrone, in Ireland, and the English retaliated by the famous attack on Cadiz, of which Howard and Essex were the leaders. After a fierce struggle with four great Spanish galleons in the bay, the English landed, and forced their way into the city. Raleigh took a prominent part in the sea-fight, and was severely wounded in the leg. The citizens of Cadiz had to pay a heavy ransom, and the English bore back treasure in merchandise and gold. They left the town sacked and dismantled, the Spaniards fuming at the insult. Unhappily, the harmony between Essex and Raleigh was short-lived. In a joint expedition to the West Indies Raleigh mortally offended his rival by capturing Fayal without his assistance. Moreover, Raleigh was now at his zenith at Court. Essex, sore and bitter, was only waiting for an opportunity of revenge. In 1599 he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and retired from Court, chafing and injured, displeased even at his own appointment. He took up his work in Ireland in a wrong spirit, and there were soon rumours that the Earl himself was planning rebellion. He returned to England without the Queen's consent, and, angry at her displeasure, intrigued with the discontented factions in the kingdom, with Protestants and Papists alike. He even connived at bringing about Sir Walter Raleigh's death.

In February, 1601, Essex was convicted of treason and executed. Raleigh's behaviour to his fallen foe seems to have been dignified and moderate, but Essex, with his beauty, wealth, and high birth, had been the darling of the people. In the public mind his rival

was connected with his death, and the fact did not increase Raleigh's popularity.

Raleigh's own dark days were approaching. In March, 1603, the Queen died. Her Stuart successor, James I., regarded the famous adventurer with mistrust and dislike. On the occasion of Raleigh's first interview with him he is said to have exclaimed, 'Rawly! Rawly true enough, for I think of thee very rawly, mon.' The truth was, James inclined to the peace policy of Lord Salisbury, the son of Cecil. Robert Cecil and Raleigh, in spite of friendly relations, had never been in agreement, and now circumstances forced them into hostility. Raleigh was dismissed, Cecil retained his office. In disgust Raleigh and his friend Lord Cobham plotted for Cecil's overthrow. Cobham, at least, may have entertained the idea of deposing James himself in favour of his cousin, Arabella Stuart. At the same time, a Roman Catholic plot was set on foot by quite another party—a priest, Watson, Cobham's brother, George Brooke, and the malcontent Protestant, Lord Grey. Both plots were discovered, and, though the evidence against Cobham and Raleigh was slight in the extreme, by skilfully confounding the two plots the judges found all five conspirators guilty of high treason. Watson and Brooke suffered death at once. The others were imprisoned during the King's pleasure, under sentence of death. The plots were known as the Main and Bye Plots.

Eleven weary years of imprisonment followed for Raleigh. Although he was allowed much liberty in the Tower, including the attendance of his own servants, and, for a time, the company of his wife, he was dead to the world, in which he longed to be busy

and stirring. His property was confiscated and his hopes of greatness crushed. Yet, even in his captivity, when he might well have despaired, Raleigh's mind was active as ever. He experimented in chemistry, he wrote much on questions of politics and on his past achievements, he spent endless hours of labour over his 'History of the World.' The people regarded him with sympathy in his disgrace. The young Prince Henry is even said to have extracted a promise of his release. 'Who but my father would keep such a bird in a cage?' he exclaimed. But the Prince died before Raleigh's prison-doors were opened. It was Raleigh's own supplications, coupled with James's difficulties, which finally released him. In 1616 he was set at liberty to lead a second expedition to Guiana in search of a gold-mine, the position of which he claimed to know. James was in want of money. He made Raleigh promise not to fight the Spaniards, but at the same time he was probably not sorry to set loose so dangerous a foe to Spain.

The voyage under the conditions named by the King was hopeless, and Raleigh must almost have known it from the first; but freedom and excitement lay before him, and the chance of 'one crowded hour of glorious life,' worth a dozen years of existence in the Tower. The expedition was on a large scale. Raleigh was provided with several ships well furnished, and carrying on board gentlemen, soldiers, and seamen. Captain Keymis, and Raleigh's son, Walter, now grown to manhood, accompanied him. They were unfortunate from the first. They were detained by storms; there was much sickness among the men; on the way Raleigh himself was struck down with fever. But there were liberty and hope, and, on

reaching Guiana, Raleigh wrote cheerily to his wife, 'Sweetheart, we are yet two hundred men, and the rest of our fleet are reasonably strong.' It was arranged that some of the ships should advance up the Orinoco under Captain Keymis, while the young Walter led a land force, and Raleigh himself remained in charge of the rest of the fleet. The English found a Spanish settlement, St. Thomas, planted in their very way on the road to the mine. They stormed it successfully, but in the fray Raleigh's son was slain. Moreover, the Spaniards still checked their advance. The case seemed hopeless, and Keymis abandoned it. On his return, Raleigh's grief and stern reproaches broke his heart. He committed suicide. Two other of Raleigh's captains deserted. The men proved discontented and suspicious. When Raleigh recklessly played his last card, and proposed an attack on the Spanish treasure-fleet, they sulkily refused to serve him, and reminded him of the conditions on which they had sailed. There was nothing left but to come home and die. Overcome with disappointment, sickness, and fatigue, with an almost certain doom staring him in the face, on his homeward journey he wrote sadly to his wife, 'God knows I never knew what sorrow meant till now!'

Even before Raleigh's arrival the King had issued a proclamation against 'the scandalous and enormous outrages' against the Spaniards. After a merely formal trial he was condemned to death. He was offered as a sacrifice to the Spaniards, whose determined foe he had been. He found it hard at first to reconcile himself to death, and even made one weak and futile attempt to escape. But before the end came the vivacious courtier, the untiring adven-

turer, was weary of life. 'The world itself is but a larger prison out of which some are daily selected for execution,' he said to the friends who came to bid him farewell; and on the eve of his death, after a touching visit from his wife, he wrote: 'If I had not loved and honoured the King truly, and trusted in his goodness too much, I had not suffered death.' On the scaffold he was calm and dignified. The place was crowded. Raleigh asked an aged man among the crowd why he came thither. The old man answered, to pray God for him, and Raleigh thanked him gravely. The reply might have been that of hundreds, for, with the usual irony of fate, the people had recognised Raleigh's greatness too late. Raleigh's last speech was characteristic. He thanked God that he had 'sent him to die in the light, and not in darkness,' and repudiated indignantly the charges of treason brought against him. He had, he said, a long journey to take, and bade the company farewell. Then he prepared for the axe, 'the sharp medicine which is a sure cure for all diseases,' and bade the headsman strike. His death raised a passionate protest from a people who had looked coldly on him in the fulness of life.



ARMS OF SIR W. RALEGH.

AN EXCELLENT SONG ON THE WINNING OF CALES*
BY THE ENGLISH.

*Cadiz was captured June 21, 1596. Howard was Admiral,
Essex General, and Raleigh in the party.*

Long had the proud Spaniard advanced to conquer us,
Threatening our country with fire and sword,
Often preparing their navy most sumptuous
With all the provision that Spain could afford.
Dub-a-dub, dub! thus strike the drums;
Tan-ta-ra, ta-ta-ra, Englishmen comes!

To the seas presently went our Lord Admiral,
With knights courageous and captains full good;
The Earl of Essex, a prosperous General,
With him prepared to pass the salt flood.
Dub-a-dub, dub, etc.

At Plymouth speedily took they ship valiantly;
Braver ships never were seen under sail;
With their fair colours spread and streamers o'er their
head,
Now, bragging Spaniards, take heed of your tail.
Dub-a-dub, dub, etc.

Unto Cales cunningly came we most happily,
Where the King's navy did securely ride,
Being upon their back, piercing their butts of sack,
Ere that the Spaniard our coming descry'd.
Tan-ta-ra, ta-ra-ra, Englishmen comes!
Bounce-a-bounce, bounce-a-bounce, off went the guns!

* Cales = Cadiz.

Great was the crying, running, and riding
Which at that season was made at that place;
Then beacons were fired as need was required.
To hide their great treasure they had little space,
As they cried, 'Englishmen comes!'

There you might see the ships how they were fired first,
And how the men drowned themselves in the sea,
That you might hear them cry, wail, and weep piteously,
When as they saw no shift to escape thence away.
Dub-a-dub, dub, etc.

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The Earl of Essex, most valiant and hardy,
With horsemen and footmen marched towards the town.
The enemies which saw them, full greatly affrighted,
Did fly for their safeguard, and durst not come down.
Dub-a-dub, dub, etc.

'Now,' quoth the noble Earl, 'courage, my soldiers all!
Fight, and be valiant. The spoil you shall have,
And well rewarded all, from the great to the small;
But look to the women and children you save.'
Dub-a-dub, dub, etc.

The Spaniards at that sight saw 'twas in vain to fight,
Hung up their flags of truce, yielding up the town.
We marched in presently, decking the walls on high
With our English colours which purchased renown.
Dub-a-dub, dub, etc.

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Thus Cales was taken, and our brave general
Marched to the market-place. There he did stand;
There many prisoners of good account were took.
Many craved mercy, and mercy they found.
Dub-a-dub, dub, etc.

When, as our general saw they delayed time,
And would not ransom the town as they said,
With their fair wainscots, their presses and bedsteads,
Their joint-stools and tables a fire we made.
And when the town burnt in a flame,
With tan-ta-ra, tan-ta-ra-rara, from thence we came.

LINES ON THE DEATH OF SIR WALTER RALEGH.

Great heart, who taught thee so to die,
Death yielding ye the victory?
Where took'st thou leave of life? If there,
How couldst thou be so free from fear?
But sure thou diedst, and quitt'st the state
Of flesh and blood before that fate.
Else, what a miracle is wrought
To triumph both in flesh and thought?
I saw in every stander-by
Pale death; life only in thine eye.
The legacy thou gav'st us then
We'll sue for when thou diest again.
Farewell, your glory truth shall say,
We died, thou only liv'st that day.

FRANCIS BACON.

(1561—1626.)

‘FRANCIS BACON, the glory of his age and nation, the adorning and ornament of learning.’ With these words Dr. Rawley, Bacon’s chaplain, begins a biography of his master, which is one long song of praise. In reality, the life of Bacon unfolds a double story. In genius he ranks only second to Shakespeare. As a scholar he stands unrivalled in his age; his influence is traceable upon almost every branch of learning in the ages that have succeeded him; his ideals were the noblest. Yet the story of Bacon’s life as a practical man of affairs is neither noble nor beautiful, and for this reason, the great philosopher was not true to his own idea of life. He devoted his leisure to a great self-imposed task—the search after truth; he spent much of his business life in a sordid seeking after preferment.

Bacon was born in 1561. He was ‘two years younger than Her Majesty’s happy reign,’ as he gracefully informed Queen Elizabeth in his boyhood. His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Cecil, Lord Burghley, was his uncle by marriage. He was thus well connected, and used from his earliest years to a knowledge of public life and acquaintance with the Court. The Queen called him ‘her little Lord Keeper.’ He was educated at Cambridge, and after-

wards went to France to be trained in 'the arts of State.' With his wonderful intellect, his excellent



Walker and Cockerell, Sc.]

[Paul Van Somer.

FRANCIS BACON.

(From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.)

training, and his high connections, no man's life can have opened more prosperously. But disappointments

came early. On his father's death he was left with a younger son's pittance, and was obliged to turn to the law as a means of livelihood. It was not a work to satisfy him. From his Cambridge days a great idea had been shaping itself in his mind—the ambition to lead men to knowledge. He felt keenly that the philosophy of the age was vain and showy, that scholars spent hours over books in studying words when they might be observing things. He believed that by a system of patient observation and comparison many of the hidden secrets of nature might be revealed, and he believed that he himself was born to be the leader in the search.

No ambition could have been grander, but to pursue it Bacon required wealth, influence, and leisure. He looked to Burghley to help him, and from his father's death onwards became a constant suppliant for his uncle's patronage. 'I have taken all knowledge to be my province,' he proudly wrote in a letter begging for preferment, and he set forth the great aim of his life 'to be a true pioneer in that mine of truth which lies so deep.' His life was passing; he had to devote himself to the drudgery of the law, and the means to accomplish his end were still wanting. He became passionate in his desire for preferment, and shameless in the flattery and insincerity he employed to obtain it. Rawley tells how the Queen 'cheered him much with the bounty of her countenance, yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her hand.' He was promised the clerkship of the Council on the death of its holder, but that did not occur for nearly twenty years. Cecil ignored his nephew's applications. But in these early years of toil Bacon had one staunch friend, the Earl of Essex. In 1593 Essex tried to secure for him the post of

Attorney-General, and, failing that, the post of Solicitor-General. In both he failed. The great lawyer Coke, Bacon's life-long rival, received the attorneyship, and Essex could only console his friend by the gift of a valuable estate. Bacon was embittered by the disappointment. In a letter to a friend he compared himself to a child following a bird which is always fluttering a little further away. But during this time of hard work and disappointment Bacon was not only wielding his pen as a lawyer. At the age of twenty-five he had written an essay, to which he gave the proud title, 'The Greatest Birth of Time.' He was following up the leading ideas of his philosophy, and writing papers on various subjects of contemporary interest. Some of his famous essays were published before the sixteenth century closed.

The strangest passage in Bacon's life occurred in 1601. Essex had been his staunch friend as well as his benefactor, and Bacon had repeatedly protested his gratitude and devotion. After the failure of Essex's wild plot, Bacon was called upon to act as one of the lawyers of the Crown at the trial, and to assist Coke in setting forth the evidence against the rebel. It was the first opportunity of coming forward which had offered itself, and he accepted it. True, Bacon detested his old friend's folly and rashness, and always believed firmly in unhesitating obedience to the Sovereign; but Essex had been the one powerful friend who had stood by him. In an 'Apology' addressed to Essex's friend, Mountjoy, Bacon afterwards pleaded that his object had been to soften the Queen's wrath. Whatever the motive, the facts remain: Essex died on the block; Bacon benefited from the fines that followed the disclosure of his plot. His ambition had clashed with

- loyalty to his friend, and had won the day. The story is an ironical comment on his own essay on 'Great Place.' 'All rising to great places is by a winding stair.' Yet Bacon himself could write: 'There is no greater desert or wilderness than to be without true friends'; 'Friendship redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in half.'

In 1603, on the Queen's death, Bacon was not behindhand in the rush of suitors who offered their services to James I. He was knighted, together with a crowd of others; but the influence of his cousin, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, kept him from further advance, and even in 1606, when Coke was promoted to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Bacon did not receive the attorneyship. He was, however, a prominent Member of Parliament, where he insisted strongly on the view of kingship—'that the King's voice is the voice of God in man.' He was busy writing, and in 1605 completed the first two books of the 'Advancement of Learning.' In his work as a scholar, to use his own words, 'he set himself to consider in what way mankind might be best served'; and in spite of his entreaties for promotion, it was the pursuit of truth, not fame, which was his ruling passion. At last, in 1607, he was rewarded for his steady support of the Crown by being appointed Solicitor-General.

A difficult work now lay before Bacon—the impossible task of reconciling the Stuart claims with the liberties of the people. After 1612, when Salisbury died, and the last link with the Court of Elizabeth was broken, there was no check upon the King's weakness and the power of his favourites. First, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, later George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, became the moving spirit at Court

Bacon's own ideas of government were as grand as his other theories. Unlike the Stuarts, he recognised that Parliament afforded another benefit to royalty besides the mere granting of supplies; he expressed it to James as 'the knitting the hearts of your subjects unto your Majesty.' It was for this reason that he tried to dissuade the King from exercising his powers too harshly in the levying of impositions, arbitrary taxes on goods coming into the country. But he also declared it part of his policy to be 'ready as a chessman to be wherever your Majesty's royal hand shall set me.' James and Buckingham realized the value of so skilful a lawyer, whose theory of the rights of kings supported all their actions. In 1613 Coke became Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Bacon at last Attorney-General.

In a post of responsibility Bacon proved himself an indefatigable worker, with high ideals and much practical ability. But there was always the thread of personal ambition and personal bitterness woven into his life. From principle he was the champion of the rights of the Crown, and maintained his own great text, 'Let the judges be lions, but under the throne.' Coke, on the other hand, stood out as the champion of popular rights. The rivals were bound to clash. In 1616 Coke was dismissed from office for upholding the power of the Common Law Courts against that of Chancery. Bacon, as Attorney-General, was the instrument of his rival's fall. In 1617 he became Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the next year Lord Chancellor and Baron Verulam. From principle, again, Bacon defended monopolies in public, though in private he had urged the King to abandon them. As a great Crown lawyer, he had an official hand in the death of Raleigh in 1618, in the disgrace of Suffolk for corrup-

tion, in the punishment of Yelverton, his successor as Attorney-General, for resisting monopolies. To all these things he was compelled by his position. But there was more bitterness than there need have been in his opposition to Coke, and it was not principle, but self-interest, which led him to grovel to Buckingham. In spite of this, Bacon was doing some excellent public service in his official position. He was anxious to reform and simplify the law; he worked steadily through the accumulation of suits in Chancery, and the justice of his decisions is now unquestioned. To his real life-work he gave himself up with equal devotion. In 1620 the 'Novum Organum' was finished. It was the long-planned work setting forth his new cherished system of philosophy; it taught men to reason from facts, to base their theories on what they could see and prove for themselves; it was the beginning of the great inductive method of research. This year marked the highest point in Bacon's life.

Bacon had made many foes. Southampton, the old friend of Essex, Coke, and Suffolk were among the most bitter. There was, moreover, a public distrust of the Court of Chancery, which made the Chancellor's position insecure. In 1621 Coke led a general attack upon Buckingham's creatures. Michell and Mompeyson, two holders of patents granted by the Crown, were first marked out. Bacon had upheld the legality of patents, and the whole movement was soon directed against him; he was accused of receiving bribes. The custom by which suitors gave presents to the judges was general at the time, and as most offices were underpaid, the gifts were looked upon as a recognised addition to the salary. Bacon, while realizing the evils of the system and the temptation to which it gave rise,

had been no exception to the rule. It was never proved that his judgments were influenced by the presents he had received, but it was impossible for him to disprove it. He appealed to the King for help, but James refused to interfere. Then Bacon gave up the struggle, and refusing to stand a trial that would have been a farce, declared himself guilty. His sentence was a heavy fine, imprisonment, and loss of office; but though the fine was remitted and he was released after a few days, the disgrace remained. Strangely enough, this last blow, unlike his earlier disappointments, roused the philosopher in Bacon. He wrote, 'I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years, but it was the justest censure in Parliament these two hundred years,' and the grand simplicity of such an admission blots out much that was selfish and sordid in his early life.

Some of Bacon's best work was completed in the few years that remained to him, years of sickness and disappointment though they were. In 1621 he wrote a 'History of Henry VII.'; the next year his 'Natural History' appeared, and in 1623 the 'Advancement of Learning' was expanded into nine Latin books, the 'De Augmentis Scientiarum.' The best edition of his 'Essays' was published in 1625. The unfinished story, the 'New Atlantis,' also dates from this time. In it Bacon sketched the outlines of one of his old long-cherished schemes—the institution of a college for research, founded with the purpose of producing 'great and marvellous works for the benefit of men.' But when the 'New Atlantis' was published in 1627, its great author was already dead.

No man ever exercised a wider influence than the famous philosopher. In his own century his theories as a lawyer, his firm belief in the rights of the Crown

over its subjects, had much to do with the growing claims of the Stuart kings, for it gave them a bench of judges subservient to their will. Bacon had another lesson to teach to kings, which they were slower in learning: he tried to show them how, by reconciling their royal rights with the liberties of the people, they might 'make a small state great.' But the kings of the seventeenth century did not listen to him, perhaps because he was himself half-hearted, for, according to his own admission, 'he did not love the word "people." It was the after-generations who learnt most. Bacon's ideas were worked out and modified by others; but it was through the principles of observation and comparison, on which he had laid so much stress, that Newton, from the movement of a falling apple, was led to formulate the laws of motion, and that Watt, from a boiling kettle, discovered the power of steam. The simplicity and force of Bacon's style of writing heralded a fresh era in prose literature, which had already been foreshadowed by the great work of the clergyman, Richard Hooker, the 'Laws of the Ecclesiastical Polity.' He was also one of the first historians who clothed their subject in a literary form, and by personal comments turned it from mere dry chronicle of fact into an interesting, critical story of the times. In his 'Essays' he has a word for all, proud and humble, wise and foolish. In all these things Bacon was the 'crown and glory,' not of his own age, but of the future. Dr. Rawley said truly of him: 'If there were ever a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man, it was upon him.' In spite of this, Bacon was not a noble man; he was not 'true to himself,' hence he was 'false to other men.' His shrewd contemporary, Ben Jonson, judged him truly when he wrote: 'He lacked not greatness, but strength.'

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

HENRY VII., 1485-1509.

'The Reign of Transition.'

Married Elizabeth of York, 1486.

FRANCE.

Charles VIII., died
1498.

Louis XII., died 1514.

SCOTLAND.

James III., died
1488.

James IV., died 1513.

SPAIN.

Ferdinand (died
1517) and Isabella.

1485. Henry Tudor crowned in London as Henry VII. after his victory at Bosworth Field. Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, imprisoned in the Tower.

1486. Henry married Elizabeth of York.
Failure of a rebellion raised by Lord Lovel.

1487. Lambert Simnel, who claimed to be the Earl of Warwick, defeated at Stoke. The Earl of Lincoln, who was helping him, slain on the field.

A new court, which later developed into the Court of Star Chamber, set up to establish order and punish offenders breaking the laws against Livery and Maintenance, which forbade the keeping of retainers.

1488. Henry sent troops to France for the help of Brittany against Charles VIII. of France.

1489. Brittany united to France by marriage of Charles VIII. and Anne of Brittany.

1492. Perkin Warbeck brought forward in Ireland as Richard, Duke of York. Invited to France.

Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain succeeded in expelling the Moors from Granada.

Christopher Columbus discovered Hispaniola.

Henry went to war with Charles VIII. over the independence of Brittany. Boulogne besieged. Charles VIII. hastened to make peace for money. Treaty of Étaples.

1493. Warbeck expelled from France in consequence of the peace. Went to Flanders.

1494. Poynings' Law passed in Ireland. (See Summary for Ireland.)
1495. Sir William Stanley executed for corresponding with Warbeck. Warbeck's attack on England a failure. He passed on to Ireland, thence to Scotland.
- A statute passed to protect those obeying a king 'de facto.'
1496. The Great Intercourse: a commercial treaty with Flanders drawn up.
- James IV. of Scotland and Warbeck invaded the North.
- Charles VIII. of France entered Italy and captured Naples.
1497. Rebellion against taxation broke out in Cornwall.
- Warbeck, expelled from Scotland, landed in Cornwall to join the rebels, but too late. Taken prisoner.
- John Cabot discovered mainland of America.**
1498. **Vasco di Gama discovered sea-route to India.**
1499. Execution of Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick for a joint attempt to escape from prison.
1501. Marriage of Henry's eldest son, Prince Arthur, with Katharine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.
1502. Death of Arthur. Katharine contracted to Prince Henry.
1503. Marriage of Princess Margaret with James IV. of Scotland. (For importance of marriage, see Table VI.)
1506. Earl of Suffolk, nephew of Edward IV., fell into Henry's hands.
1509. Death of Henry.

Character of Reign.

Henry's aim was to establish a strong monarchy in England. He weakened the nobles in Parliament by diminishing their numbers; he kept them in control throughout the country; even the Earl of Oxford, a staunch Lancastrian, was heavily fined for keeping retainers. Henry enriched the Crown by taxation and by forced loans and benevolences. His chief adviser in finance was Cardinal Morton, who commanded the thrifty to pay from their presumed savings and great spenders from their presumed wealth. Thus all classes of persons were placed in a dilemma known as Morton's Fork. The most unpopular of the King's agents were Empson and Dudley, whose extortions caused great discontent.

In spite of Henry's severity, the English remained loyal, because the new King brought peace and order. His marriage with Elizabeth of York was politic. Bacon wrote: 'As his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart, so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him.' Henry's reign was one of transition in many ways. The enthusiasm for the New Learning, encouraged by the Greek teachers who had poured over Europe after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, reached England. The first lectures in Greek were given in the University of Oxford. The discovery of the New World also helped to enlarge men's ideas, and the two great inventions of printing and gunpowder, one of which wrought a revolution in learning, the other in the art of warfare, were both being slowly developed. In Henry's reign we pass from the Middle Ages to the Modern World.

HENRY VIII., 1509-1547.*'The Reign of Changes.'***HENRY'S WIVES AND CHILDREN.**

1509, Katharine of Aragon—Mary.
 1532, Anne Boleyn—Elizabeth.
 1536, Jane Seymour—Edward VI
 1540, Anne of Cleves.
 1540, Katharine Howard.
 1543, Katharine Parr.

SCOTLAND.

James IV., killed 1513.
 James V., died 1542.
 Mary, deposed 1567.

FRANCE.

Louis XII., died 1515.
 Francis I., died 1547.

SPAIN.

Charles I., 1516-1556.

EMPERORS.

Maximilian, died 1519.
 Charles V., died 1558.

POPES.

Julius II., died 1513. Adrian VI., died 1523.
 Leo X., died 1522. Clement VII., died 1534.
 Paul III., died 1550.

1509. Henry married Katharine of Aragon.
 1510. Execution of Empson and Dudley, Henry VII.'s Ministers.
 1511. **Henry joined the Holy League**—Spain, the Pope, and England against France.
 1512. English expedition to South of France.
 1513. Execution of Suffolk.
 English expedition to Flanders. Victory of **Guinegaste** (the Spurs), after which Terouenne and Tournay surrendered to Henry.
 Scotch made war on England. **Battle of Flodden Field** in the Cheviots. Severe defeat of Scotch. James IV. slain.
 1514. Peace established with both France and Scotland.
 1515. Wolsey made Cardinal and Lord Chancellor.
 1517. Wolsey made Papal Legate in England.
 Martin Luther began his attack on the Roman Church in Germany.
 1519. **Charles I. of Spain elected Emperor** (Charles V.).
 1520. England hovering between alliance with France and Spain.
 Two great Conferences: (1) **Field of Cloth of Gold**, between Henry and Francis I., near Calais; (2) meeting at **Gravelines**, between Henry and Charles V. Result: Treaty with Spain.
 1521. Execution of Duke of Buckingham on charge of high treason.
 1522. Visit of Charles V. to England. An English army sent against France.
 1523. Bitter struggle in House of Commons over taxation to carry out Wolsey's schemes. More, the Speaker, led Opposition.
 1525. **Henry made treaty with France.**

- 1525. Outbreak of Peasants' War in Germany.
Battle of Pavia in Italy between Francis I. and Charles V.
Francis taken prisoner.
- 1527. Spanish troops sacked Rome; held Clement VII. prisoner in Castle of St. Angelo.
Henry's appeal to the Pope for divorce from Katharine.
- 1528. The marriage case tried in England by Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey.
- 1529. Katharine appealed to the Pope. Case cited to Rome.
Disgrace of Wolsey. Sir Thomas More made Chancellor.
Reformation Parliament met. (During seven years' session carried out work of separating English Church from Rome.)
- 1530. Cranmer sent to the Pope to report the favourable decision of the Universities on the Divorce Question.
Wolsey arrested for high treason. His death at Leicester on the road from York to London.
- 1531. The clergy forced to acknowledge Henry 'Head of the Church and clergy as far as the law of Christ will allow.'
- 1533. Act passed in Parliament restraining appeals to Rome.
Henry married Anne Boleyn.
Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1534. Act forbidding payment of annates to Rome.
Clergy forbidden to pass laws in Convocation.
Succession to throne settled on children of Anne Boleyn.
Imprisonment of More and Fisher for refusing to accept settlement.
Execution of Nun of Kent, half-crazy girl put forward by priests as leader of rebellion in that county.
Act abolishing authority of Pope in England.
- 1535. **Act of Supremacy.** Henry took title 'Supreme Head of the Church in England.'
Execution of Fisher and More.
Thomas Cromwell appointed Vicar-General.
- 1536. Death of Katharine of Aragon.
Dissolution of smaller monasteries.
Execution of Anne Boleyn.
Henry's marriage with Jane Seymour.
Outbreak of 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' a rebellion in the North.
Rebels demanded restoration of monasteries and punishment of heretic Bishops. Severely repressed.
Lands of Lords Marchers abolished. Old shires of Wales enlarged. Five new ones added—Denbigh, Radnor, Montgomery, Monmouth, Brecknock. Wales began to send members to English Parliament. Council for Wales set up.
- 1537. The Council of the North, which became one of the most tyrannous of the Tudor Courts, set up to preserve order.
Death of Jane Seymour.
- 1538. Execution of Marquis of Exeter (see Table III.).
- 1539. King's proclamations declared law.
Dissolution of greater monasteries.
Act of Six Articles passed, enforcing adherence to most important of former articles of belief.

1540. Henry married Anne of Cleves, but immediately procured divorce.
Execution of Thomas Cromwell, King's chief agent in Reformation.
Henry married Katharine Howard.
1541. Execution of Countess of Salisbury (see Table III.).
1542. Henry took title King instead of Lord of Ireland.
Execution of Katharine Howard.
Flight of the Scots at Solway Moss.
James V. of Scotland died.
1543. Henry married his sixth wife, Katharine Parr.
Treaty for marriage between Prince Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots.
1544. Lord Hertford (later Protector Somerset) and Lord Lisle (later Warwick) sent to invade Scotland.
War with France. Capture of Boulogne.
1545. Heavy taxation in form of benevolence.
Council of Trent met on the Continent.
1546. Imprisonment of Norfolk and his son Surrey.
1547. Execution of Surrey.
Death of Henry VIII.

Character of Reign.

Henry VIII.'s reign was one of the most eventful in the whole of English history. The great changes in the Church were all, in form at least, brought about by Parliament, and were agreed to by Convocation. But the Tudors knew how to use Parliament as a tool, and to render most of their subjects subservient to them. There is little doubt that the Reformation Parliament was packed, and that the separation from Rome was brought about, in the first instance, because the Pope failed to satisfy the wishes of Henry VIII. Henry wanted England to be separated from Rome, but to keep intact all her doctrine and forms of worship. Those who would not sign the Six Articles were punished by death or loss of property. But the greater number of those who agreed with the separation desired a more sweeping reform; therefore in the last years of the reign England threatened to be divided between 'traitors'—namely, those who would not recognise Henry as Head of the Church—and 'heretics'—those who would not sign the Six Articles. The nobles were divided into two parties—the old party, represented by the Howards, Norfolk, and Surrey, who wanted no more reforms; and the new nobility, including such families as the Seymours, Dudleys, Russells, and Cavendishes, who were enriched by the confiscated lands of the monasteries, and whose interests were wrapped up in the Reformation. The Bishops were for the most part inclined to reform, but there were some who, like Gardiner of Winchester and Bonner of London, accepted the changes with hesitation.

Side by side with Henry's apparent devotion to constitutional forms went many high-handed acts of despotic power. Courts such as the Star Chamber, the Council of the North, and the Council of Wales,

were allowed to grievously abuse their authority, and the King himself was responsible for many cruel executions, which might almost be called 'judicial murders.' In the long list of victims figure the names of two of Henry's own wives. Many historians have painted the most tyrannical of the Tudor monarchs as 'a monster of lust and blood,' but Dr. Stubbs, with a keener insight, describes him as 'a man who regarded himself as the highest justice, and who looked on mercy as a mere human weakness. . . . A strong, high-spirited, ruthless, disappointed, solitary creature—a thing to hate, or to pity, or to smile at, or to shudder at, or to wonder at, but not to judge.'

EDWARD VI., 1547-1553.

'The Rule of the Protestants.'

SCOTLAND.

EMPIRE.

FRANCE.

Mary.

Charles V.

Henry II.

1547. Hertford, Edward's uncle, created Duke of Somerset and Protector.
 A visitation of the dioceses ordered for the destruction of images and pictures, and for enforcing the use of English in services.
 Imprisonment of Bonner and Gardiner.
 Invasion of Scotland by Somerset. Victory of Pinkie Cleugh.
 The newly-created treasons of Henry VIII. and Act about proclamations repealed.
1549. **First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. issued. First Act of Uniformity passed.**
 Lord Seymour executed on charge of treason.
 Rebellion in Norfolk under Ket, chiefly directed against enclosure of common lands, put down.
 Rebellion in Devon and Cornwall, chiefly religious, suppressed.
 Siege of Boulogne by the French.
 Disgrace of Somerset. He resigned the protectorship.
 Succeeded by Dudley, Earl of Warwick.
1550. Peace with France. English surrendered Boulogne.
1551. Warwick made Duke of Northumberland. Somerset imprisoned on charge of high treason.
1552. **Somerset executed.**
 Important alteration in treason law made. Evidence of two witnesses henceforth considered necessary to convict the accused.
Second Act of Uniformity, and second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. issued.
1553. The King, having fallen ill, was persuaded by Northumberland to leave the crown to his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey (see Table IV.).
 Death of Edward VI.

Character of Reign.

During the few years of Edward VI.'s reign the Protestant party was supreme in England. The government fell into the hands of a faction of nobles, who showed themselves selfish and harsh, and who signally failed to win the trust and sympathy of the nation. Reforms were carried out ruthlessly and against the wishes of the people, who saw in the destruction of their richly-painted windows and countless shrines and monuments an attempt to uproot the faith of their fathers. This contributed to the rebellions which caused the fall of Somerset. Northumberland had few pretensions to be a national ruler, but his fortunes were as closely connected with the Protestant cause as those of Somerset, and the revised Prayer-Book which was sanctioned during his rule contained many changes, hence fewer Catholics could accept it. His connection with the death of Somerset, together with his intrigue to supplant the Princess Mary by his son's wife, heightened his unpopularity. To the violence and selfishness of the new nobles was mainly due the great reaction which was at hand.

MARY, 1553-1558.

'The Rule of the Roman Catholics.'

SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	EMPIRE.
Mary.	Henry II.	Charles, died 1558. Philip II., 1556-1598.	Charles V.

1553. Lady Jane Grey proclaimed Queen in London.
 Mary obtained help from the Howards of Norfolk.
 Northumberland deserted by his own followers, seized, imprisoned, and executed.
 Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley imprisoned in the Tower.
 Release of Bonner and Gardiner. Gardiner made Chancellor.
 All laws about religion passed in Edward VI.'s reign annulled.
1554. Failure of rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, on behalf of Princess Elizabeth.
 Execution of Wyatt, Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey, and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley. Princess Elizabeth imprisoned.
Marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain. Beginning of Spanish influence in England.
 All statutes against the Pope since the twentieth year of Henry VIII.'s reign repealed.
1555. Statutes against heretics revived.
 Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, Rogers, a Canon of St. Paul's, and others, burnt.
 Persecutions throughout Kent, Sussex, and Eastern counties.
 (October) Latimer and Ridley burnt at Oxford.
1556. Archbishop Cranmer burnt at Oxford.

1556. Cardinal Pole made Archbishop.
A conspiracy on behalf of Elizabeth **failed**.
1557. National Covenant signed by Scotch Protestants.
England declared war against France in interests of Spain
Battle of St. Quentin ; Spanish and English victory.
1558. **Calais besieged and captured by the French**, after having been
held by English for more than 200 years.
Marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Dauphin (later
Francis II.) of France.
Death of Queen Mary.

Character of Reign.

Mary was the most unfortunate and unhappy Queen who has ever sat upon the English throne. Her youth had been full of bitterness. She resented proudly the wrongs done to her mother, Katharine of Aragon, and the slights to which, in consequence, she had herself been exposed. She had learnt to trust few, to suspect many, and she never understood the English people, who, for their part, were slow to realize the difficulties and prejudices which made the reign so pitiable a failure. Mary was half a Spaniard, and clung tenaciously to her purpose of marrying Philip, on whom she bestowed a deep affection, to which he was incapable of responding. There were some political grounds to justify the match. Spain might prove a useful ally against France, and the marriage might counterbalance the union pending between Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Dauphin ; also, the Netherlands were part of Philip's portion, and for commercial reasons it would be good for England and the Netherlands to be united. But Philip's influence over Mary, and his religious intolerance, coupled with the fear that England might some day become subject to Spain, made the match hateful to the English. From conviction, Mary was an unswerving adherent of the Pope. The separation from Rome was associated with her own early troubles, and she thought to bind her subjects by force to the Papal See. But if the self-seeking of the Protestants had roused the spirit of the people, the persecutions of Mary woke in them a passionate resistance and a blind hatred of the Roman religion which not even 300 years have been entirely able to wipe out. Little wonder that Mary left so terrible a name behind her !

ELIZABETH, 1558-1603.

'The Reign of Settlement.'

SCOTLAND.

Mary, deposed 1567.
James VI.

FRANCE.

Henry II., died 1559.
Francis II., died 1560.
Charles IX., died 1574.
Henry III., died 1589.
Henry IV., died 1610.

SPAIN.

Philip II., died 1598.
Philip III., died 1621.

1558. Cecil appointed Secretary of State.
Elizabeth ordered part of the services to be read in English.
Elizabeth rejected Philip of Spain's offer of marriage.
1559. New Act of Supremacy passed. Elizabeth dropped title 'Supreme Head of the Church.'
A revised Prayer-Book, based on second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., issued, with certain omissions and alterations.
Peace with France.
Matthew Parker, a moderate Churchman, made Archbishop of Canterbury.
England interfered in the war between Mary of Guise and the Scotch Protestants.
1560. The Treaty of Edinburgh drawn up, by which Mary of Scotland and her husband abandoned claim to throne of England.
1562. England sent help to the French Protestants.
1563. The forty-two Articles of belief drawn up in Edward VI.'s reign reduced to thirty-nine, and signed by Convocation.
1564. Large numbers of London clergy resigned their livings, having refused to obey Parker.
1565. Mary, Queen of Scots, married Darnley. (See Table IV.)
1566. Peace with France.
1567. Murder of Darnley. Mary married Earl Bothwell.
1568. Mary took refuge in England. Conference at York.
1569. Norfolk imprisoned for wishing to marry Mary.
Rising of the North, a rebellion led by Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland in favour of Mary, Queen of Scots. The Earls fled. The rebels severely punished; many deaths by hanging.
1570. Pope Pius V. issued a Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth.
1571. The English retaliated by passing severe laws against Roman Catholics.
The Ridolfi plot discovered in England. Result: execution of Duke of Norfolk.
1572. **Massacre of St. Bartholomew.** Great slaughter of Protestants in France.
1575. The Netherlands, persecuted by Philip of Spain, appealed to England for help.
1576. Grindal, a Protestant Churchman, became Archbishop of Canterbury.
1577. Grindal suspended from office for failing to suppress Puritans.
1579. The rebellion of Desmond broke out in Munster. (See 'Ireland.')
1580. Campion and Parsons, the leaders of the Jesuit movement, landed in England.
1581. Discovery of the 'Throgmorton Plot.'
Execution of Campion.
1583. Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury.
Court of High Commission established permanently, to inquire into offences against the ecclesiastical system and punish offenders.
1584. Association of Englishmen formed to protect Elizabeth's life from plots.

- 1584. Murder of William of Orange, leader of Protestants of Netherlands.
- 1585. The Earl of Leicester sent to help of Netherlanders.
- 1586. The 'Babington Conspiracy,' failed.
Trial and condemnation of Mary, Queen of Scots.
Battle of Zutphen, in the Netherlands. Death of Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney.
- 1587. **Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.**
Pope Sixtus V. issued a new Bull against Elizabeth.
A series of tracts known as the **Marprelate Tracts**, attacking and libelling the Bishops, published.
Preparations for the Armada. Drake 'sing'd the King of Spain's beard' at Cadiz.
- 1588. **Defeat of Spanish Armada.** English fleet under command of Lord Howard of Effingham.
Death of Leicester.
- 1590. Henry of Navarre (Henry IV. of France) won the Battle of Ivry against the family of Guise and Philip of Spain, who resisted his claim to the throne.
Death of Elizabeth's Minister Walsingham.
- 1591. English troops sent to help Henry IV.
- 1592. Presbyterian Church established in Scotland.
- 1593. Severe Acts against both Protestants and Roman Catholics.
- 1595. Rebellion of Tyrone in Ireland. (See 'Ireland.')
- 1596. Essex and Howard sacked Cadiz.
- 1598. Henry IV. of France issued the **Edict of Nantes**, allowing freedom of worship to Protestants.
Death of Cecil.
Death of Philip II. of Spain.
- 1599. Essex, who had been entrusted with the pacification of Ireland, failed, and returned without Queen's consent.
- 1600. Essex concerned in a plot against the throne.
First charter granted to the East India Company.
- 1601. Execution of Essex.
First regular Poor Law passed, appointing churchwardens and overseers in every parish, who were authorized to levy rates for the support of the feeble and aged, the apprenticeship of poor children, and the setting to **work** of able-bodied paupers.
- 1602. Earl of Tyrone subdued.
- 1603. Death of Queen Elizabeth.

Character of Reign.

Elizabeth's accession meant an end to the religious persecutions and the influence of Philip of Spain. The Queen realized that Englishmen were weary of extremes, and she endeavoured to settle the religious question by making the Church as comprehensive as possible, so that all men might join in its services. Her foreign policy was to keep England on friendly terms with the other countries of Europe, and in this she was successful for thirty years. The reign was one of comparative peace at home, and Englishmen rejoiced light-heartedly in

their new-found freedom. Moreover, the great victory of 1588 awoke in them an enthusiasm of loyalty such as had never prevailed before. The age was also unrivalled in the number of men of genius it produced. All these things cause Elizabeth's reign to be associated in our minds with happiness, glory, and brilliance. There is, however, a darker side to it. Though the terrible burnings at the stake had ceased, religious differences could not be laid aside. The Government cannot be cleared from a charge of harshness against either Roman Catholics or Puritans. No man dared express his thoughts freely, and severe Acts were passed to suppress seditious writings. The many plots against the throne bear witness to the existence of malcontents at home, who were willing to aid and abet enemies abroad. The Queen herself was wont to tyrannize over her Ministers and her Parliaments. The Tudor monarchs always believed that Parliament met to do their business, not that of the nation. To a Parliament assembled in 1593 Elizabeth, through her Lord Keeper, sent a message: 'Privilege of speech is granted, but you must know what privilege you have; not to speak everyone what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter that, but your privilege is **aye** or **no**.' But, in spite of her inclination to tyranny, Elizabeth knew when to give way gracefully, for she thoroughly understood her people, and realized the possibilities of development, and the future which lay before her country. To the request of her last Parliament, that she would abolish monopolies, which she had styled 'the principal and chief jewel of her crown,' she made reply, 'There is no jewel, be it of never so rich a price, which I prefer before this jewel—I mean your love.' It was this power of intelligent sympathy which knit Elizabeth to the people more closely than any of the Tudors who had preceded her.

SCOTLAND.

- 1488. James IV. succeeded to Scotch throne.
- 1502. James IV. married Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII.
[This marriage led in 1603 to James VI.'s succession to the English throne. (See Table VI.)]
- 1513. Battle of Flodden Field. Scots defeated. Death of James IV. James V., an infant, succeeded.
- 1542. James V., in alliance with the French, invaded England. Panic and flight of the Scots at Solway Moss. Death of James V. Mary, his infant daughter, succeeded.
- 1543. Marriage arranged between infant Mary and Prince Edward.
- 1544. English invasion of Scotland under Lord Hertford.
- 1547. Protector Somerset (Hertford) invaded Scotland to enforce the treaty of marriage. Defeat of the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh.
- 1557. The first National Covenant signed by Scotch Protestants at Edinburgh.
- 1560. Elizabeth sent help to the Scotch reformers against the French. Mary of Guise, the widow of James V., died. Treaty of Edinburgh between English and Scotch. English troops retired.

- 1561. Queen Mary returned to Scotland after the death of her husband, Francis I. of France.
- 1565. Mary married Darnley.
- 1567. Murder of Darnley. Mary married Earl Bothwell. Mary forced to abdicate. Succeeded by her infant son, James VI.
- 1568. Mary, defeated at Langside, took refuge in England. Her case investigated before a conference at York.
- 1586. Trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, by a special commission in England.
- 1587. Execution of Mary.
- 1592. Presbyterian Church established by Act of Scotch Parliament.
- 1603. James VI. succeeded to throne of England.

IRELAND.

- 1494. Sir Edward Poynings sent to Ireland by Henry VII. Poynings' Act passed by Parliament at Drogheda: (1) No Parliament henceforth to be summoned in Ireland without consent of King of England; (2) no Bill to pass Irish Parliament without approval of English Council; (3) all recent legislation in England to be binding in Ireland.
- 1534. Insurrection of the Kildares in Ireland. Rebellion punished by forfeiture of estates.
- 1536. Act of Supremacy passed by the Irish Parliament. Repealed 1556, but re-enacted 1560.
- 1542. Henry VIII. assumed title King of Ireland.
- 1565. Insurrection of Shan O'Neill in Ulster—lasted three years. Further confiscations and colonization of Ireland by English.
- 1577. Rebellion in Connaught.
- 1579. Rebellion in Munster. Spanish aid sent to rebels. Massacre of Smerwick.
- 1595. Rebellion of Tyrone (Hugh O'Neill). Assistance to Irish given by Philip of Spain. Sir John Norris sent to Ireland.
- 1598. Death of Norris. Defeat of his successor, Bagnal.
- 1599. Essex sent to Ireland against O'Neill. Failed to subdue revolt. Returned to England.
- 1602. O'Neill submitted and obtained pardon.

STATE OF ENGLAND, 1485—1603.

At the close of the fifteenth century England was, in some ways, more prosperous than it had ever been. Most of the villeins had become freemen, the middle classes owned land, and all the vexatious oppressions of feudal lords were at an end. During the sixteenth century great changes began to take place. The most important were the **impoverishment of the labourers**, the **decline of some of the oldest towns**, the **rise of new centres of industry**, and the **rapid growth of foreign trade**.

1. **IMPOVERISHMENT OF LABOURERS.**—This, as Sir Thomas More pointed out, was one of the immediate results of the increase of sheep-farming. In order to get lands for pasture, owners dismissed some of their tenants, raised the rents of others, and began to enclose the common fields, so that hundreds of people were beggared. By the **dissolution of the monasteries**, it has been reckoned that at least one fifth of the land changed hands, and the new owners, who were greedy for wealth, carried on sheep-farming to a great extent. Thus the evil was aggravated, and the poor people lost the religious houses which had been centres of charity, while the numbers of the homeless poor were swelled by the monks themselves. Somerset struck a further blow at the poor by confiscating the lands of the **gilds**, the proceeds of which had been used largely in purposes of charity.

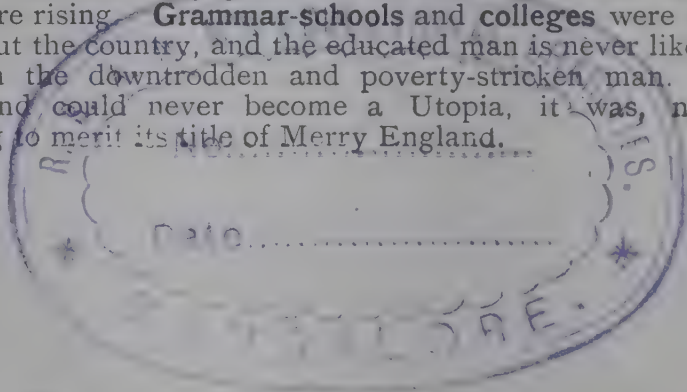
To add to the sufferings of the poor, **taxes** were very heavy all through the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. The latter King almost ruined the country by his extravagance. When he could raise money in no other way, in 1543, he began the evil policy of **debasing the coinage**. This raised prices, as the money no longer contained its full value of gold, silver, and copper; but wages did not rise as rapidly. Thus food was dear and wages were for a time stationary, and the labouring classes suffered heavily. In all the great rebellions of the age—the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, **Ket's Rebellion**, and the **Rising of the North**—poverty and social discontent played as large a part as love of the old religion and desire to overthrow the Government.

2. **DECLINE OF TOWNS AND RISE OF VILLAGES.**—The decline of the towns was only partly due to the growth of sheep-farming, which in time altered the need for the old fairs and markets. It was due far more to the foolish and useless restrictions imposed by the **trade guilds** of the towns on their master-workmen and apprentices. To escape these, many manufacturers moved into country places, which

became in time fresh centres of industry. Manchester, Bolton, Halifax, Leeds, and many other of our great manufacturing towns of to-day, began to be important in this way. The chief ports were then on the south and east coasts, but the day was soon to come when trade with the new-found continent of America led to the rise of great ports on the west, and many of the smaller ports of the south and east, such as Dartmouth, Shoreham, Winchelsea, Harwich, and Yarmouth, suffered. But Bristol was of fame even in the sixteenth century. It fitted out the ship in which John Cabot, in 1497, touched on the mainland of America, and such ports as London and Southampton were destined to become far more important than they had ever been.

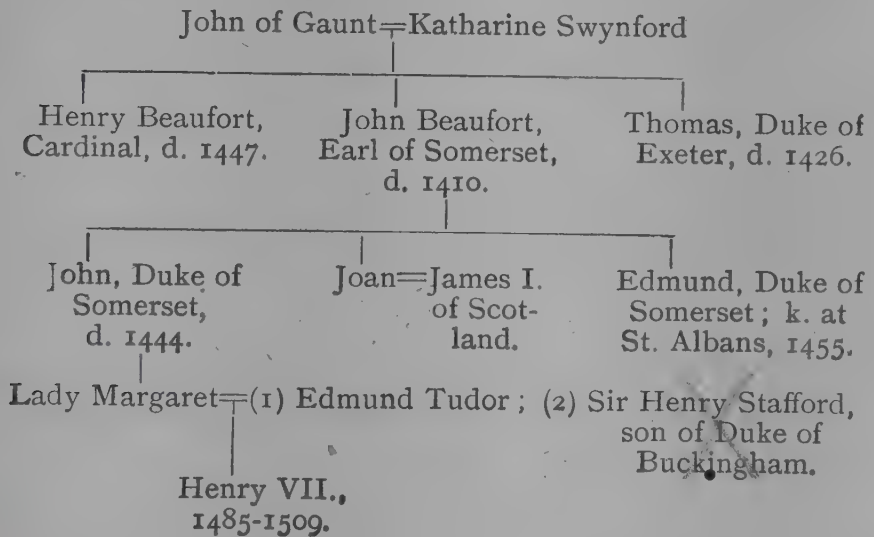
3. **GROWTH OF FOREIGN TRADE.**—The keen spirit of adventure alive in the sixteenth century was bound to lead to fresh mercantile enterprise. England had for a long time exported tin, lead, and wool to the Continent, and every year the great Venetian fleet came to Western Europe, bringing rich treasures from the East, in the shape of silk, satin, spices, and precious stones. The body of German merchants known as the **Hanse** League had for long had their quarters in London. But in 1597 the English merchants, who were jealous of their privileges, were strong enough to bring about their dismissal. English trade was developing rapidly, and London was beginning to take the place of Antwerp as the great centre of exchange in the West. In 1554 a company was formed for trading with **Russia**, trade was opened up with the coast of **Guinea**, and in 1600 the famous **East India Company** came into existence. The need for the annual visit of the Venetian fleet was over. English craft were beginning to ply busily over the seas of which England in 1588 had won the mastery.

4. **GENERAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.**—From all these facts, it will be gathered that poverty and riches went hand-in-hand. The nobles, landlords, and merchants were very wealthy. Manufactures were springing up in England, encouraged by the large numbers of **Flemings** who settled there during the Spanish War. This was the beginning of the remedy for the loss of work caused by sheep-farming, but it naturally acted slowly. By the close of Elizabeth's reign, however, there was a general rise in the standard of comfort throughout England. Not only did the nobles revel in costly mansions and grand clothes, but the middle classes began to build more substantial houses. Many a country farm-house to-day built in the shape of the famous E betrays its age to the passing traveller. The use of bricks, glass, chimneys, and carpets, things which had been counted as luxuries, was becoming general. The labourers were less poor, for wages were rising. **Grammar-schools and colleges** were multiplying throughout the country, and the educated man is never likely for long to remain the downtrodden and poverty-stricken man. If More's native land could never become a Utopia, it was, nevertheless, beginning to merit its title of Merry England.

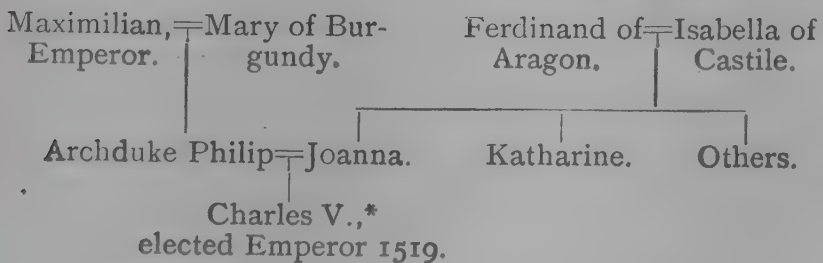


GENEALOGICAL TABLES

I. DESCENT OF HENRY VII. OF ENGLAND.



II. GENEALOGY OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.



* Charles V. possessed Spain, the Empire, the Netherlands, Naples, and Spanish possessions in the New World.

III. TABLE SHOWING DIFFERENT FAMILIES OF YORKIST DESCENT WHO SURVIVED IN ENGLAND AFTER FALL OF RICHARD III.

Descendants of George, Duke of Clarence.

George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. = Isabel Nevill, daughter of Warwick the Kingmaker.

Edward, Earl of Warwick,
ex. 1499.

Margaret, Countess of Salisbury,
ex. 1541. = Sir Richard Pole.

Henry, Lord Montague,
ex. 1539.

Geoffrey.

Reginald, Cardinal Pole, d. 1558.

Arthur.

Edmund.

Descendants of Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV.

Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. = John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

John, Earl of Lincoln,
k. 1487, at Stoke.

Edmund, Duke of Suffolk,
ex. 1513.

Richard, d. at Pavia 1525.

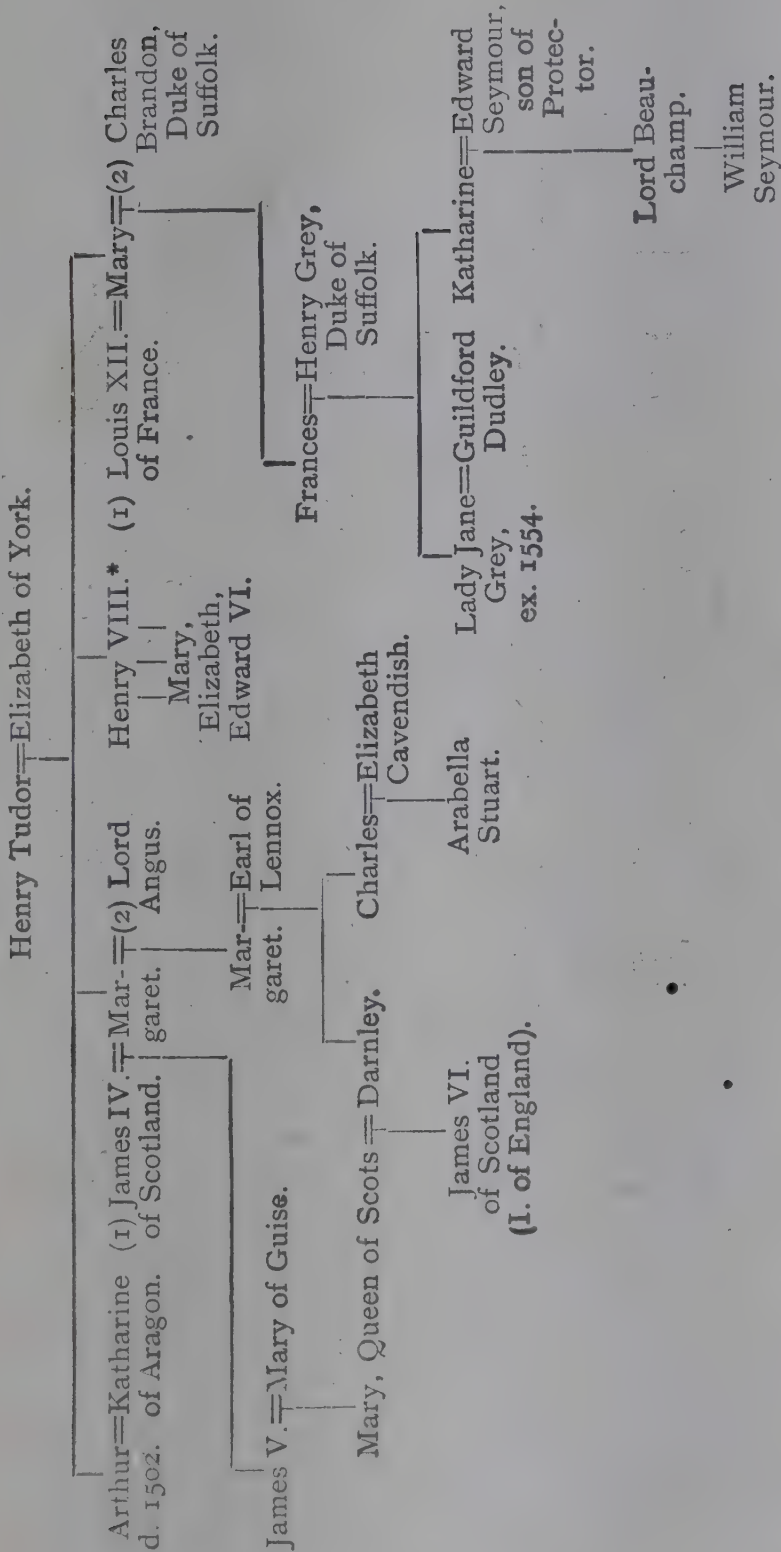
Descendants of Katharine, daughter of Edward IV.

Katharine, daughter of Edward IV. = Sir William Courtenay.

Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, ex. 1539.

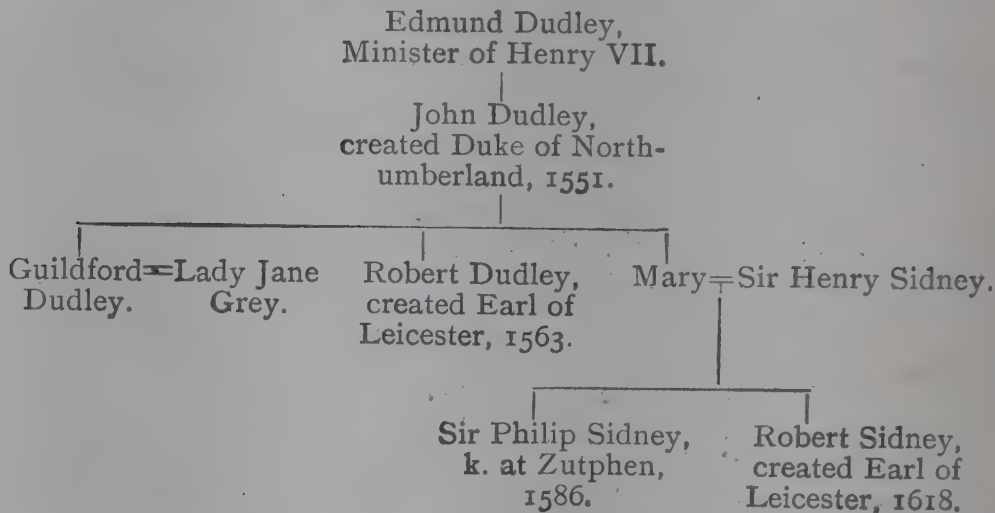
Edward Courtenay, d. 1566.

IV. TABLE SHOWING HENRY VII.'S DESCENDANTS.

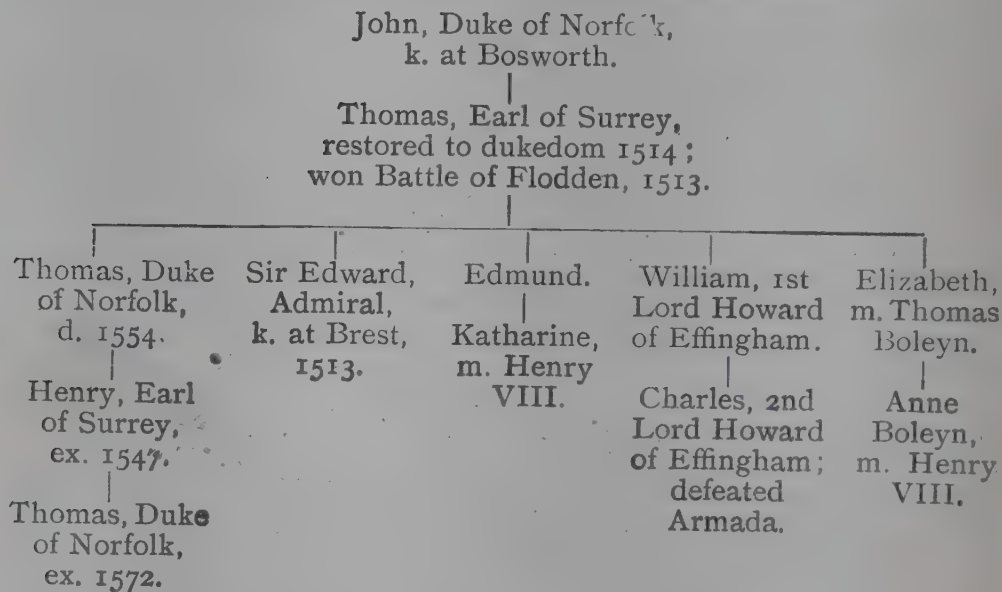


* For list of Henry's wives, see Summary of Reign of Henry VIII.

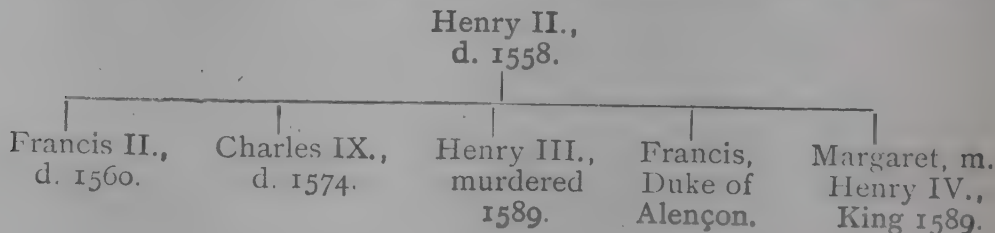
V. GENEALOGY OF THE DUDLEYS.



VI. GENEALOGY OF THE HOWARDS.



VII. FRENCH KINGS DURING ELIZABETH'S REIGN.



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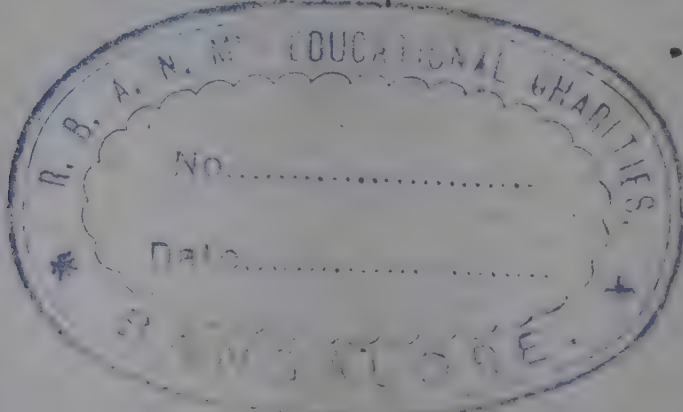
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